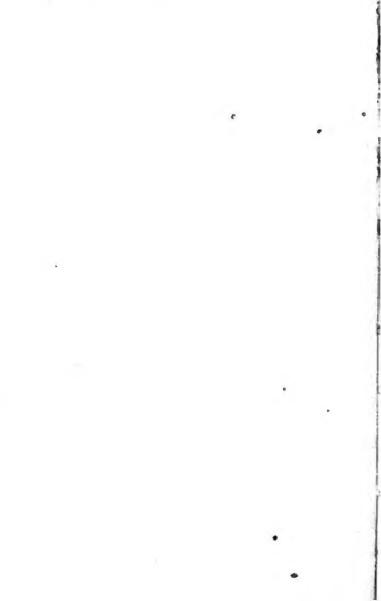
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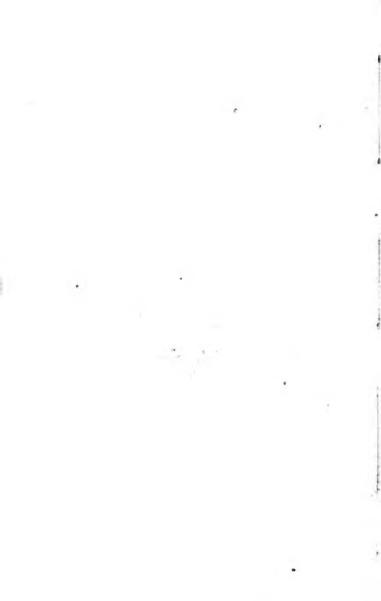
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DIODORUS OF SICILY

X



WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY RUSSEL M. GEER, Ph.D.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

X

BOOKS XIX. 66-110 AND XX



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THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY OF DIODORUS OF SICILY BOOK XIX

Τάδε ένεστιν εν τη εννεακαιδεκάτη των Διοδώρου βύβλων

Τὰ πραχθέντα τοῦς 'Αντιγόνου καὶ Κασάνδρου στρα. τηγοῖς περί τὴν Ἑλλάδα,

Κασάνδρου στρατεία είς την Λίτωλίαν και τοις κατά

τον Αδρίαν τόπους.

"Αλωσις περί Καρίαν τής απωσταλείσης ίπο Κασάν. δρου δυνάμεως.

'Ως οἱ ψυγάδες των Συρακουσίων 'Ακμαγαντίνους πείσαντες πολεμεῖν 'Αγαθοκλεῖ στρατηγὸν ἐκ Λακεδαί μονος 'Ακρύτατον μετεπέμψαντο.

'Ως ούτος μεν παραλαβών την ήγεμονίαν τυραννικώς άρχων διεγένετο, οί δ' 'Ακραγαντίνοι την είρήνην εποιή-

σαντο πρός τὸν δυνάστην.

Τὰ πραχθέντα 'Ρωμαίοις περί την 'Ιαπυγίαν.

Καλλανταινών άπόστασις άπο Λικειμάχου καὶ τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν βυήθειαν ἀποσταλεῶτιν ὑπ' *Αντιγόνου

'Ως Φίλιππος ἀποσταλείς ἐπὸ Κασάνδρου στρατηγὸς els τὴν Αlτωλίαν ἐνίκησεν Αlτωλοῖς ἄμα καὶ τοῖς Ἡπειρώτας.

'Ως 'Ρωμαΐοι μάχη νεκήσαντες Σαμνίτας μετ' όλίγον Καμπανοίς άποστάντας προσηγάγοντο.

¹ тиранчикас Rhodoman: кай віртикас.

CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

The operations of the generals of Antigonus and of Cassander in Greece (chap. 66).

Cassander's campaign in Actolia and the country

about the Adriatic (chaps. 67-68).

The capture in Caria of the army sent out by

Cassander (chap. 68).1

How the Syracusan exiles, after persuading the people of Acragas to fight against Agathoeles, sent for a general from Lacedacmon, Acrotatus (chap. 70).

How Acrotatus accepted the generalship and ruled as a tyrant; and how the Acragantines made peace

with the dynast (chap. 71).

The Roman operations in Iapygia (chap. 72).

The revolt of the Callantians from Lysimachus, and what befell those who were dispatched to their aid by Antigonus (chap. 73).

How Philip, who had been sent as general into Aetolia by Cassander, defeated at one time the peoples

of Actolia and Epirus (chap. 74).2

How the Romans defeated the Sammites in battle, and a little later won back the Campanians who had revolted (chap. 76).

¹ The table of contents omits chap. 69: Antigonus' preperations against Ptolemy.

² Chap. 75 is omitted: operations of Antigonus in Asia Minor, and of Cassander in Greece.

'Ως 'Αντίγονος Πτολεμαίου' στρατηγου εξαπέστειλε μετὰ δυνάμεως ελευθερώσουτα τοὶς "Ελληνας καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα περὶ τὴν Έλλάδα.

Απόσταστε Κυρηναίων και άλωστε, έτι δε Πτολεμαίου

στρατεία είς Κύπρον καὶ Συρίαν.

Μάχη Δημητρίου πρός Πτολεμαίου και νίκη Πτολεμαίου.

'Απόστασις Τελεσφόρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀπὸ 'Αυτιγόνου.

Τὰ περί τὴν "Ππειρον καὶ τὸν 'Αδρίαν πραχθέντα Κασάνδου.

'Ως Σέλευκος παρά Πτολεμαίου λαβών δύναμου δλίγην εκράτησε Βαβυλώνος καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσου αὐτῷ σατραπείων ἀνεσώσατο.

'Ως 'Αντίγονος ἀκινδύνως παραλαβών Κοίλην Συρίαν δύναμαν ἐξίπεμψεν εἰς τὴν 'Αραβίαν.

Περί των νομέμων οίς χρήται τὰ έθνη των 'Αράβων.

Περί της καλουμένης 'Ασφαλτίτιδος λίμνης.

'Ως 'Αντίγονος του νόον Δημήτριον έξαπέστειλε μετά της δονάμεως είς την Βαβυλωνίου.

Περί των πραχθέντων Ρωμαίους και Σαμνίταις.

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλής Μεσσηνίους παρακρουσάμενος τής πόλεως έκυρίευσευ,

'Ως τους άντιταξαμένους Μεσσηνάων και Τουρομενιτων, έτι δε Κεντοριπίνων απέσφαξεν,

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλής Δεινοκμίτη καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας περί Γαλαρίαν ένίκησεν.

¹ Πτολιμαΐον (icer: Πολίμωνα (cp. chap. 77. 2; also chaps. 57. 4, 68. 5 and notes).

CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK

How Antigonus sent Ptolemaeus as general with an army to liberate the Greeks, and about his operations in Greece (chaps. 77-78).

The revolt and the capture of Cyrene, also the campaign of Ptolemy into Cyprus and Syria (chap.

79).

The battle of Demetrius against Ptolemy, and the

victory of Ptolemy (chaps. 80-86).

The descrition of Antigonus by his general Telesphorus (chap. 87).

The operations of Cassander in Epirus and on the

Adriatic (chaps. 88-89).

How Seleueus received a small force from Ptolemy, gained control of Babylon, and recovered the satrapy that he had formerly possessed (chaps. 90-92).

How Antigonus took Coelé Syria without a battle, and how he dispatched an army into Arabia (chaps.

93-100).

About the customs observed by the Arabian tribes (chap. 91).

About what is called the Bituminous Sea (chaps.

98-99).

How Antigonus sent his son Demetrius with the army into Babylonia (chap. 100).

About the operations of the Romans and the Sam-

nites (chap. 101).

How Agathoeles deceived the Messenians and

became ruler of their city (chap. 102).

How he slew those of the Messenians, Tauromenians, and Centoripians who opposed him (chaps. 102-103).

How Agathoeles defeated Deinocrates and the

exiles at Galaria (chap. 104).

'Ρωξάνης καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατος.

Τὰ πραχθέντα 'Ρωμαίοις κατὰ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν.

Περί της γενομένης τοις Καρχηδονίως ναυαγίας,

'Ως Καρχηδώνωι περί των 'Ιμέριαν 'Αγαθοκλέα παρατάξει νικήσαντες συνέκλεισαν είς τὰς Συρακούντσας.

CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK

The death of Roxanê and of King Alexander (chap. 105).

The operations of the Romans in Italy (chap. 105). About the shipwreck that befell the Carthaginians (chap. 106).

How the Carthaginians defeated Agathoeles in a battle at Himera and shut him up in Syracuse (chaps.

107-110).

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ

τοτ εικελιστοτ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

RIRAGE ENNEARALMERATH

66. Του δ' έτους τούτου διελθύντος 'Αθήνησι μέν ήρχε Νικόδωρος, εν 'Γιύμη δ' ήσαν υπατοι Λεύκιος Παπείριος το τέταρτον και Κόιντος Πό-2 πλιος το δεύτερον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων 'Λριστόδημος μέν ό κατασταθείς ύπ' 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγός ώς έπύθετο την Αλεξάνδρου του Πολυπέρχοντος απόστασιν, επί τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δικαιολονησάμενος προετρέψατο τὰ πλήθη βοηθείν τοῦς 'Αντιγόνου πράγμασιν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τών μισθοφόρων διαβάς έκ της Λίτωλίας είς Πελοπύννησον κατέλαβεν 'Αλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τους 'Πλείους πολιορκούντας την Κυλλήνην, εύκαίρως δέ τοις 3 κινδυνεύουσιν επιφανείς έλυσε την πολιορκίαν. καταλιπών δ' ένταθθα τούς παρεξομένους τω φρουρίω την ασφάλειαν ανέζευξεν είς την 'Αχαΐαν καί Πάτρας μεν ήλευθέρωσε φρουρουμένας ύπο τοῦ

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DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK XIX

66. After this year had passed, Nicodorus was stene. archon at Athens, and at Rome Lucius Papirius was consul for the fourth time and Quintus Publius for the second.1 While these held office, Aristodemus, who had been made general by Antigonus, on learning of the defection of Polyperchon's son Alexander, presented his own side of the matter to the common assembly of the Actolians and persuaded the majority to support the fortunes of Antigonus. He himself, however, with his mercenaries crossed from Aetolia to the Peloponnesus, where he found Alexander and the Eleans laying siege to Cyllene, and, arriving at a moment opportune for the endangered people. raised the siege. Leaving troops there to insure the safety of the stronghold, he advanced into Achaia and freed Patrae, which was subject to a garri-

¹ Nicodorus was archon in 314/13 s.c. The consuls of 315 s.c. are given by the Fasti Capitolini as L. Papirius Cursor and Q. Poblillius Philo, each for the fourth time (CIL, 1, p. 130). The names of the consuls of this year have been lost from Livy, 9, 22.

Κασάνδρου στρατιωτών, Αίγιον δὲ ἐκπολιορκήσας τής τε φρουράς έκυρίευσε καὶ τοῖς Αίγιεῦσι κατά δόγμα την ελευθερίαν βουλόμενος αποκαταστήσαι διά ταύτην την περίστασην εκωλύθη των νάρ στρατιωτών τραπέντων πρός άρπανην πολλοί μέν απεσφάγησαν των Αιγιέων πλείσται δε των οικιών 4 διεφθάρησαν. μετά δε ταθτα διαπλεύσαντος είς Αίτωλίαν αύτοῦ Δυμαίοι, φρουράν έγοντες παρά Κασάνδρου, διετείγισαν την πόλιν, ώστε κατ' ίδιαν ούσαν από της ακροπόλεως διεζεύχθαι. παρακαλέσαντες δ' άλλήλους αντέγεσθαι της αθτονομίας περιεστρατοπέδευσαν την άκραν και συνεγείς προσ-5 βολάς εποιούντο, α δη πυθόμενος ο Αλέξιινδρος ήκεν μετά δυνάμεως και βιασάμενος έντος του τείγους εκυρίευσε της πόλεως, των δε Δυμαίων τούς μεν απέσφαξεν, τούς δ' είς φυλακήν απέθετο, ε πολλούς δε εφυγάδευσεν. οι δε περιλειφθέντες απαλλαγέντος έκ της πόλεως 'Αλεξάνδρου χρόνον μέν τινα την ήσυχίαν ήγον, καταπεπληγμένοι το μέγεθος της συμφοράς άμα δε και συμμάχων όντες έρημοι μετά δέ τινα χρόνον έξ Λίγίου τους 'Αριστοδήμου μισθοφόρους μεταπεμψάμενοι πάλιν έπέθεντο τη φρουρά και κυριεύσαντες της άκρας την μέν πόλιν ήλευθέρωσαν, των δε καταλειφθέντων τούς πλείστους αποσφάξαντες συνανείλαν και τών ίδίων πολιτών όσοι πρός 'Αλέξανδρον είγον φιλίαν. 67. "Αμα δέ τούτοις πρασσομένοις 'Αλέξανδρος

μέν ο Πολυπέρχοντος έκ Σικυώνος αναζευγνύων μετά της δυνάμεως ύπ' Αλεξίωνος του Σικυωνίου καί τινων άλλων προσποιουμένων είναι

² So the MSS., but with a added above a by second hands.

son of Cassander's troops. After a successful siege 314 nc. of Aegium he became master of its garrison; but, although he wished to establish freedom for the people of Aegium according to the decree,1 he was blocked by the following incident: for while the soldiers were engaged in pillaging, many of the Acgienses were killed and very many of their buildings were destroyed. Thereafter, when Aristodemus had sailed to Actolia, the Dymacans, who were subject to a garrison sent by Cassander, cut off their city by a dividing wall in such a way that it was isolated and separated from the citadel. Then, after encouraging each other to assert their freedom, they invested the citadel and made unremitting attacks upon it. But Alexander on learning of this came with his army, forced his way within the wall, and became master of the city, slaying some of the Dymaeans, imprisoning others, and sending many into exile. When Alexander had departed from the city, the survivors remained quiet for some time, stunned by the magnitude of the disaster and also bereft of allies. After a little while, however, they summoned from Aggium the mercenaries of Aristodemus and once more made an attack on the garrison. Taking the citadel, they freed the city; and when they had massacred most of those who had been left there, they likewise slew all those of their own citizens who maintained friendship with Alexander.

67. While this was taking place, Polyperchon's son Alexander, as he was setting out from Sieyon with his army, was killed by Alexion of Sieyon and certain others who pretended to be friends. His

¹ Cp. chap. 61. 3. Dymē is a town in western Achaia.
³ Or, reading καταληφθέντων τ " who had been captured."

φίλων ἀνηρέθη, ή δὲ γυνὴ Κρατησίπολις διαδεξαμένη τὰ πράγματα συνεῖχε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀγαπωμένη διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῷν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας: διετέλει γὰρ βοηθοῦσα τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπόρων ὑπολαμβάνουσα. 2 ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ σύνεσις πραγματικὴ καὶ τόλμα μείζων ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα: τῶν γὰρ Σικυωνίων καταφρονησάντων αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τελευτὴν καὶ συνδραμόντων μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, παραταξαμένη καὶ νικήσασα πολλοὺς μὰν ἀνεῖλε, συλλαβοῦσα δὲ περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνεσταύρωσεν. ἀσφαλισαμένη δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐδυνάστευε τῶν Σικυωνίων, ἔχουσα πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἐτοίμους εἰς πάντα κίνδυνον.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἢν.

3 Κάσανδρος δ' όρων τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς συναγωνιζομένους μὲν 'Αντιγύνω πόλεμον δ' ἔχοντας ὅμορον
πρὸς 'Ακαρνᾶνας ἔκρινε συμφέρειν ἄμα συμμάχους
μὲν 'Ακαρνᾶνας ποιήσασθαι ταπεινῶσαι δὶ τοὺς
Αἰτωλούς. διόπερ ἀναζεύξας ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετὰ
δυνάμεως μεγάλης ἡκεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Καμπύλον
4 ποταμόν συναγαγῶν δὲ τοὺς 'Ακαρνᾶνας εἰς κοινὴν
ἐκκλησίαν καὶ διελθῶν ὅτι πόλεμον ἔχουσιν ὅμορον
ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, συνεβούλευεν ἐκ τῶν ἀνοχύρων'
καὶ μικρῶν χωρίων εἰς δλίγας πόλεις μετοικῆσαι,

όπως μή διεσπαρμένης της οἰκήσεως ἀδυνατώσιν
1 ἀνοχύρων Reiske, ἀνοχύρων Dludorf: ἀχυρών.

¹ It is probable that this name (literally, "conqueror of the city," cp. such a poetic word as **parquipaxos, Pindar,

BOOK XIX, 67, 1-4

wife, Cratesipolis, however, succeeded to his power succeeded held his army together, since she was most highly esteemed by the soldiers for her acts of kindness; for it was lifer habit to aid those who were in misfortune and to assist many of those who were without resources. She possessed, too, skill in practical matters and more daring than one would expect in a woman. Indeed, when the people of Sieyon scorned her because of her husband's death and assembled under arms in an effort to gain their freedom, she drew up her forces against them and defeated them with great slaughter, but arrested and crucified about thirty. When she had a firm hold on the city, she governed the Sieyonians, maintaining many soldiers, who were ready for any emergency.

Such, then, was the situation in the Peloponnesus. When Cassander saw that the Aetolians were supporting Antigonas and were also engaged in a border war with the Acarnanians, he decided that it was to his advantage at a single stroke to make the Acarnanians his allies and to humble the Aetolians. For this reason, setting out from Macedonia with a large army, he moved into Aetolia and camped beside the river called the Campylus. When he had summoned the Acarnanians to a common assembly and had related to them in detail how they had been engaged in border warfare from ancient days, he advised them to move from their villages, which were small and unfortified, into a few cities so that they would no longer, because their homes

Pythian Odes, 9, 150), which is not found elsewhere, was conferred upon the princess after the episode here related. She held Sievon for Polyperchon for some years, surrendering it to Ptolemy in 308 n.c., cp. Hook 20, 37, 1.

A tributary of the Achelous.

άλλήλοις βοηθείν και πρός τὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους τῶν πολεμίων επιθέσεις δυσχερώς αθροίζωνται, πειοθέντων δε των 'Ακαρνάνων οι πλείστοι μεν είς Στράτον πόλιν συνώκησαν, δγυρωτάτην ούσαν καί μεγίστην, Οἰνιάδαι δέ καί τινες άλλοι συνήλθον έπλ ο Σαυρίαν, Δεριείς δε μεθ' επέρων είς 'Αγρίνιον. ό δε Κάσανδρος απολιπών στρατηγόν Λυκίσκον μετά των ίκανων στρατιωτών τούτω μέν παρήγγειλε βοηθείν 'Ακαρνάσιν, αὐτὸς δέ μετά δυνάμεως παρελθών επὶ Λευκάδος την πόλιν διὰ πρεσβείας β προσηγάγετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ὑρμὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ᾿Αδρίαν πουησάμενος ᾿Απολλωνίων ἐξ ἐφόδου παρέλαβεν. είς δε την 'Ιλλυρίδα προελθών και διαβάς τον "Εβρον ποταμόν παρετάξατο πρός Γλαυκίαν 7 τον 'Ιλλυριών βασιλέα. περιγενήμενος δε τη μάχη πρός μέν τούτον συνθήκας έποιήσατο, καθ' ας ούκ εξήν τω Γλαυκία στρατεύειν έπι τους Κασάνδρου συμμάχους, την δέ των Επιδαμνίων πόλιν προσαγαγόμενος καὶ φρουρών εγκαταστήσας επαιτίλθεν είς Μακεδονίαν.

68. 'Απαλλαγέντος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λιτωλίας τοῦ Κασάνδρου συστραφέντες τῶν Λιτωλιῶν εἰς τρισχιλίους καὶ περιχαρακώσαντες 'Αγρίνων ἐπολιόρκουν, τῶν δὲ κατοικούντων τὸ χωρίον όμολογίας ποιησαμένων ὥστε τὴν μὲν πόλιν παραδοῦναι, τῆς δ' ἀσφαλείας τυχόντας αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὐτοι μὲν πιστεύοντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀπήεσαν, οἱ δ' Λιτωλοὶ παραβάντες τὰς συνθήκας καὶ καταδιώξωντες τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐλπίζοντας πείσεσθαι δεινὸν πλὴν ὐλίγων πάντας ἀπέσφαξαν. ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος παραγενόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πυθόμενος πολεμεῖσθαι

were scattered, be powerless to aid each other and me me find difficulty in assembling to meet the unexpected raids of their enemies. The Acamanians were persuaded, and most of them came to live together in Stratus, since this was their strongest and largest city; but the Oeniadae and some others gathered at Sauria, and the Derians and the rest settled at Agrinium. Cassander left Lyciscus in command with adequate troops, ordering him to aid the Acamanians; but he himself moved upon Leucas with an army and secured the allegiance of the city through an embassy. Thereafter, directing his campaign to the Adriatic, he took Apollonia at the first assault. Advancing into Illyria and crossing the Hebrus River, he drew up his army against Glaucias, the king of the Illyrians.1 Being successful in the battle, he made a treaty with the king according to which Glaucias was not to wage war on Cassander's allies; then he himself, after securing the city of Epidamnus and establishing a garrison therein, returned to Macedonia.2

68. When Cassander had departed from Aetolia, the Aetolians, gathering together to the number of three thousand, invested Agrinium and began a siege. The inhabitants of the place came to terms with them, agreeing to surrender the city and depart under safe conduct; but when, trusting in the treaty, they were leaving, the Aetolians violated the terms, pursued hotly after these men while they were anticipating no danger, and slaughtered all but a few of them. When Cassander had arrived in Macedonia and heard that war was being waged on

Justin, 15. 2. 1-2, gives a different account of this campaign. The Hebrus River in Illyria seems otherwise unknown.

**Continued in chap. 78.

τας εν Καρία πόλεις οσαι συνεμάχουν τοῖς περί Πτολεμαΐον και Σέλευκου, έξέπεμψε δύναμιν είς την Καρίαν, αμα μεν βουλόμενος βοηθείν τοίς συμμάγοις, αμα δε σπεύδων είς περισπασμούς εμβαλείν 'Αντίγουον ίνα μη σχολήν έχη διαβαίνειν els 3 την Ευρώπην, έγραψε δέ και πρός Δημήτριον τον Φαληρέα και Διοιύσιου του φρουρούντα την Μουνυχίαν, προστάττων είκοσι ναθς είς Λημνον έκπέμψαι. ἀποστειλάντων δ' αὐτών εὐθὺς τὰ σκάφη καὶ ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτῶν 'Αριστοτέλη ούτος μέν καταπλεύσας είς Λήμνον και μεταπεμβάμενος Σέλευκον μετά στόλου τους Λημνίους επειθεν άποστήναι των περί 'Αντίγονον' ου προσεχόντων δ' αὐτῶν τήν τε χώραν εδήωσε καὶ τήν πόλιν περι-4 χαρακώσας επολιόρκει. μετά δε ταθτα Σέλευκος μέν απέπλευσεν είς Κων, Διοσκουρίδης δε κατασταθείς ναύαρχος ύπ' 'Αντιγόνου, πυθόμενος του πλούν Σελεύκου, κατήρεν είς Λήμνον καὶ τὸν μέν 'Αριστοτέλη εξέβαλεν εκ της νήσου, των δε νεων τας πλείους αὐτάνδρους είλε.

Το "Ασανδρος' δὲ καὶ Πρεπέλαιος ἀφηγοῦντο μὲν τῆς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου πεμφθείσης δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Καρίαν, πυθόμενοι δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγὸν τὴν δύναμιν εἰς παραχειμασίαν διηρη-

^{1 &}quot;Agaropos Wesseling (cp. Book 18, 3, 1); Kágaropos.

A nephew of Antigonus (chap. 62, 9).

¹ Cp. the critical note. Asander became governor of Caria in \$23 a.e., continued in power in 371 a.e., and was still satrap of Caria (Books 18, 3, 1, 39, 6; 19, 62, 2, 75, 1). In the MSS, his name is often confused with that of Cassander, as here.

all the cities in Caria that were allied to Ptolemy 114 a.a. and Seleucus, he sent an army into Caria, for he both wished to aid his allies and at the same time was eager to force Antigonus into distracting undertakings so that he might not have leisure for crossing over into Europe. He also wrote to Demetrius of Phalerum and to Dionysius, who commanded the garrison on Munychia, bidding them dispatch twenty ships to Lemnos. They at once sent the boats with Aristotle in command of them. After the latter had sailed to Lemnos and had summoned Seleucus and a fleet, he undertook to persuade the Lemnians to revolt from Antigonus; but as they did not assent, he ravaged their land, invested the city, and began a siege. Afterwards, however, Seleucus sniled off to Cos; and Dioscurides,1 who had been made admiral by Antigonus, on learning of Seleucus' departure, swooped down upon Lemnos, drove Aristotle himself from the island, and captured most of his ships together with their crews.

Asander and Prepelatis were in command of the expedition sent by Cassander into Caria; and, on being informed that Ptolemaeus, the general of Antigonus, had divided his army for wintering.

* The winter of \$14/13.

² Prepelads had been sent by Cassander to Polyperchon's son, Alexander, in a successful effort to win him away from Antigonus (chap. 64. 3). We hear no more of him after the present campaign until 303 s.c., when he commanded the garrison at Corinth for Cassander (Book 20. 103. 1).

⁴ Ptolemacus (or Polemacus, cp. 10, 2⁸, 1, 469), a nephew of Antigonus, had accompanied his uncle at the siege of Nora and had been accepted by Eumenes as a hostage (Pluturch, Eumenes, 10, 3). In 315 n.c. ha conducted a successful campaign in Asia Minor against the generals of Cussander (chaps. 57, 4; 60, 2).

κέναι και αὐτὸν ἀσχολεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ πατρός, Εὐπόλεμον ἀπέστειλαν ἐνεδρεῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ Κάπριμα τῆς Καρίας συνεξέπεμψαν δ' αὐτῶ πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους. καθ' ὅν δὴ χρόνον Πτολεμαῖος παρά τινων αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν πολεμίων ἤθροισε μὲν τῶν πλησίον χειμαζόντων στρατιωτῶν πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους τριακοσίους, 7 ἱππεῖς δ' ἐξακοσίους. ἀνελπίστως δὲ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπιβαλὼν τῷ χάρακι τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀφυλάκτους καὶ κοιμωμένους αὐτόν τε τὸν Εὐπόλεμον ἔζώγρησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας συνηνάγκασε παραδοῦναι σφῶς αὐτούς.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν συμβάντα περὶ τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου στρατηγοὺς εἰς τὴν ᾿Λσίαν τοιαῦτ᾽

יונד

69. 'Αντίγονος δ' όρων τὸν Κάσανδρον ἀντεχόμενον τῆς 'Ασίας Δημήτριον μὲν τὸν υίδν ἀπέλιπεν
ἐν τῆ Συρία, προστάξας ἐνεδρεύειν τοὺς περὶ
Πτολεμαῖον, οὖς ὑπώπτευεν ἐκ τῆς Λἰγύπτον
προάξειν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Συρίας, συναπέλιπε δ'
αὐτῷ πεζοὺς μὲν ξένους μυρίους, Μακεδόνας δὲ
δισχιλίους, Αυκίους δὲ καὶ Παμφυλίους πεντακοσίους, Πέρσας δὲ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας τετρηκοσίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ
τρεῖς' πλείους τῶν τεσσαράκοντα. παρακατέστησε
δ' αὐτῷ καὶ συμβούλους τέσσαρας, Νέαρχόν τε τὸν
Κρῆτα καὶ Πίθωνα τὸν 'Αγήνορος, ὅς καταβεβήκει

Caprima in Caria is otherwise unknown.

¹ spais omitted by Fischer.

Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 5, 2; Appian, Syrian Wars, 54.
 Nearchus was a boyhood friend of Alexander (Arrian,

and was himself engaged in burying his father, they 314 a.c. dispatched Eupolemus to lie in wait for the enemy near Caprima! in Caria, sending with him eight thousand foot soldiers and two hundred horse. But at this time Ptolemaeus, who had heard from some descreers of the plan of the enemy, gathered from the troops who were wintering near by eight thousand three hundred foot soldiers and six hundred horse. Falling unexpectedly upon the fortified camp of the enemy about midnight and catching them off guard and asleep, he captured Eupolemus himself alive and forced the soldiers to give themselves up.

This, then, is what befell the generals who were

sent by Cassander into Asia.

69. When Antigonus perceived that Cassander was trying to win Asia for himself, he left his son Demetrius in Syria, ordering him to lie in wait for Ptolemy, whom he suspected of intending to advance from Egypt with an army against Syria; with Demetrius he left an infantry force consisting of ten thousand mercunaries, two thousand Macedonians, five hundred Lycians and Pamphylians, and four hundred Persian archers and slingers, a cavalry force of five thousand, and forty-three elephants. He assigned to him four counsellors: Nearchus of Crete, Pithon, son of Agenor, who had returned

Anabasis, 3. 6. 5; Plutarch, Alexander, 10. 3), who had accompanied him on the murch castward and commanded the fleet on the return. In 323 n.c. he was appointed to command a voyage of exploration around Arabia, but this was abandoned on Alexander's death (Arrian, Anabasis, 7. 25. 4; Plutarch, Alexander, 68). He served under Antigonus in 317 n.c. (chap. 19. 4) and joined Demetrius in urging that Eumenes be spaced (Plutarch, Eumenes, 18. 3).

4 This Pithon had been left by Alexander as satrap of lower India (Arrian, Anahasis, 6, 15, 4) and had remained

πρότερου ολίγαις ήμέραις έκ Βαβυλώνος, προς δέ τούτοις 'Ανδρόνικόν τε του 'Ολύνθιου καὶ Φίλιππον, ανδρας πρεσβυτέρους καὶ συνεστρατευκότας 'Αλεξάνδρω πασαν την στρατείων ήν γάρ Δημήτριος έτι νέος την ηλικίαν, ώς αν γεγουώς έτη δύο προς 2 τοις είκοσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀνέλαβει καὶ τὸ μέν πρώτον ὑπερβάλλων τὸν Ταῦρον καὶ περιπεσών χιόνι πολλή συχνούς απέβαλε των στρατιωτών. διὸ καὶ πάλιν άναστρέψας εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν και μεταλαβών έτερον καιρον διεξήλθε μέν ασφαλέστερον το προειρημένου όρος, παραverbueros & eis Keduras The Proving Siethe To 3 στρατόπεδου είς χειμασίαν. μετά δε τουτα τον στόλον έκ Φοινίκης μετεπέμηματο Μηδίου ναυαρχούντος, δς περιτυχών ταις Πυδναίων ναυσίν, ούσαις τριάκοντα έξ, καὶ καταναυμαχήσας αὐτάνδρων των σκαφών έκυρίευσεν.

Καὶ τὰ μέν περί την Ελλάδα και την Ασίαν έν

τούτοις ήν.

70. Κατά δε την Σικελίαν οι των Συρακοσίων φυγάδες διατρίβοντες εν 'Ακράγαντι παρεκάλουν τους προεστηκότας της πόλεως μη περιορών 'Αγα-

1 drehaße Fischer: Ehaße.

For the meaningless Πυδναίων Useher suggests Πτολεμαίου οτ Πολυκλείτου, ep. chap. 64. 4.

there (Book 18, 3, 3; 39, 6) until recalled by Antigonus In 316 s.c. to become satrap of Babylonia (chap. 56, 4). He is not to be confused with Pithon of the Bodyguard, who had been put to death by Antigonus in 316 s.c. (chap. 46, 3-4), or with the Pithon who was satrap of Media (Book 18, 3, 1; 39, 6).

Nothing is known of his service under Alexander. He served under Antigonus at the siege of Tyre in 315 u.c. (chap.

59. 2).

BOOK XIX, 69, 1-70, 1

a few days before from Babylon, also Andronicus 314 BC of Olynthus 1 and Philip, 2 men advanced in years who had accompanied Alexander on his whole campaign; for Deinetrius was still youthful, being twenty-two years of age. Antigonus himself, taking the rest of the army, first tried to cross the Taurus Range, where he encountered deep snow and lost large numbers of his soldiers. Turning back therefore into Cilicia and seizing another opportunity, he crossed the aforesaid range in greater safety; and, on reaching Celaenae in Phrygia, he divided his army for wintering.3 Thereafter he summoned from Phoenicia his fleet under the command of Medius,4 who fell in with the ships of the Pydnaeans,4 thirty-six in number, defeated them in an engagement, and captured the vessels together with their crews.

This was the situation in Greece and in Asia.

70. In Sicily, those of the Syracusan exiles who were tarrying in Acragas urged the rulers of that city not to watch complacently while Agathoeles

a This is the winter of 314/13 s.c.

Medius served under Alexander, playing a more important part after the death of Hephaestion (Book 17, 117, 1). He was accused of poisoning Alexander (Arrian, Anabasis, 7, 27, 2), and after Alexander's death served Perdiccas (Arrian, Successors, 24, 6) and then joined Antigonus.

"Pydnacans" is certainly wrong. Possibly we should read "of Ptolemy," or "of Polyclitus," who was an admiral

of Ptolemy.

Continued in chap. 73.

Continued from chap. 65. 6. The invitation to Acrotatus is probably to be dated in the preceding year.

² Nothing is known of his carlier career, but he may be the Philip who received Buctriane and Sogdiane in 323 s.c. (Book 18, S. 3). Ten years later he is still faithfully serving Antigonus (Book 20, 107, 8).

θοκλέα συσκευαζόμενον τὰς πόλεις αιρετώτερον γαρ είναι πρό του τον τύραννον ζοχυρόν γενέσθαι διαπολεμείν έκουσίως η περιμείναντας αὐτοῦ την αύξησιν έξ ανάγκης πρός λαγυρότερον διαγωνίζε-2 σθαι. δοξάντων δ' αὐτων άληθη λέγειν ό μεν δημος των 'Ακραγαντίνων έψηφίσατο του πόλεμου καί Γελώους μεν και Μεσσηνίους είς την συμμαγίαν προσελάβοντο, είς δε την Λακεδαιμονίον των φυγάδων τινάς έξέπεμψαν, έντειλώμενοι πειραπθαι στρατηγον άγειν τον δυνάμενον πραγμάτων άφηγή-3 σασθαι τούς γάρ πολιτικούς ύπώπτευον ώς δυτας οίκείους τυραννίδος, τους δ' έξωθεν υπελάμβανον δικαίως ποιήσεσθαι την των όλων επιμέλειαν, αναμιμνησκόμενοι της Γιμολέοντος του Κορινθίου 4 στρατηγίας. οί δε πεμφθέντες ώς ποθ' τίκον είς την Λακωνικήν, εύρον Ακρότατον τον Κλευμένους του βασιλέως υίον προσκεκοφότα πολλοίς των νέων και διά τοθτο ξενικών πραγμάτων δρεγόμενον. 5 των γαρ Λακεδαιμονίων μετά την πρός 'Αντίπατρον μάχην απολυύντων της ατιμίας τους έκ της ήττης διασωθέντας μόνος ένέστη τώ δόγματι. διόπερ αὐτὸν συνέβη καὶ τῶν άλλων οὐκ όλίγοις προσκόψαι, μάλιστα δ' οξς την των νόμων τὰ πρόστιμα. ούτοι γάρ συστραφέντες πληγάς τε ενεφόρησαν1 ο αὐτῷ καὶ διετέλουν ἐπιβουλεύοντες. διὰ ταῦτα δὴ ξενικής ήγεμονίας επιθυμών ασμένως υπήκουσε τοῖς Ακραγαντίνοις. τὴν δ' ἀποδημίαν ποιησάμενος άνευ της των εφόρων γνώμης άνήχθη ναυσίν

¹ πληγάς τε ενεφόρησαν editors: πληγάς τε ενεφορήθησαν RX, πληγάς συνεφόρησαν F.

² Cp. the action of the Syracusans who, after the death of Timoleon, passed a law that henceforth they would always 22

BOOK XIX, 70, 1-6

organized the cities; for it was better, they said, to me me. fight it out of their own free will before the tyrant became strong than to await the increase of his power and then be forced to struggle against him when he had grown stronger. Since they seemed to speak the truth, the popular assembly of the Acragantines voted for the war, added the people of Gela and Messené to the alliance, and sent some of the exiles to Lacedaemon, instructing them to try to bring back a general capable of taking charge of affairs; for they were suspicious of their own statesmen as being inclined toward tyranny, but, remembering the generalship of Timoleon the Corinthian, assumed that leaders from abroad would honestly devote themselves to the common cause. The envoys, when they arrived in Laconia, found that Acrotatus, the son of King Cleomenes, had given offence to many of the younger men and for this reason was eager for activity away from home. This was because, when the Lacedaemonians after the battle against Antipater relieved from ignominy those who had survived the defeat," he alone opposed the decree. He thus gave offence to many others and in particular to those who were subject to the penalties of the laws; indeed, these persons gathered together and gave him a beating, and they were constantly plotting against him. Being therefore anxious for a foreign command, he gladly accepted the invitation of the men from Acragas. Taking his departure from the state without the consent of the cphors, he set sail

elect a Corinthian to lead them in foreign wars (Plutarch, Timoleon, 38. 2).

^a The battle at Megalopolis in 331 a.c., in which King Agis III of Sparta was defeated and lost his life (Book 17. 62-63).

7 ολίγαις, ώς διαρων' έπ' Ακράγαντος. απενεχθείς δ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν κατήρε μέν εἰς τὴν των 'Απολλωνιατών χώραν, καταλαβών δέ την πόλιν πολιορκουμένην ύπο Γλαυκίου του βασιλέως των Ίλλυριών έλυσε την πολιορκίαν, πείσας τον βασιλέα συνθήκας ποιήσασθαι πρός τους 'Απολ-Β λωνιάτας, ειτεύθεν δε πλεύσας είς Τάραιτα καί παρακαλέσας του δήμου συνελευθερούν Συρακοσίους, έπεισε ψηφίσασθαι ναυσίν είκοσι βοηθείν. διά γάρ την συγγένειαν και το της ολκίας σχημα προσένεμον τοις λύγοις αθτού πίστιν τε μεγάλην

καὶ βάρος.

71. Των δε Ταραντίνων περί την παρασκευήν όντων αὐτὸς αὐτόθεν ἐκπλεύσας εἰς τὸν 'Ακράγαντα παρέλαβε την στρατηγίαν και το μέν πρώτον μετεωρήσας τὰ πλήθη μεγάλαις έλπίσι παρεστήσατο πάντας προσδυκάν σύντομον κατάλυσιν τοῦ 2 τυράννου, του δε γρόνου προϊόντος πράξιν μεν ούδεμίου ούτε της πατρίδος ούτε της περί το γένος επιφανείας αξίαν διεπράξατο, τουναντίου δε φονικός ων και των τυράννων ωμότερος προσέκοπτε 3 τοις πλήθεσι. πρός δέ τούτοις την πάτριον δίαιταν μετέβαλεν και ταις ήδοναις ενετρύφησεν ούτως ασελγώς ώστε Πέρσην είναι δοκείν και ού Σπαρ-4 τιάτην. έπει δέ των προσύδων το πλείον μέρος ανήλωσεν τα μέν πολιτευόμενος, τα δε διανοσφιζόμενος τέλος Σωσίστρατον, επιφανέστατον τών φυ-

¹ Stap Dindorf: Stalpor MSS, followed by Fischer, 2 προσένεμον Dindorf: προσενύουν ItX, προσέπεσθαι Γ. * αὐτόθεν ἐκπλεύσας Cupps : σινεκπλεύσας.

Almost certainly identical with the Sostratus of chaps. 3-5. He was leader of the oligarchical party in Syracuse 24

with a few ships as if to cross to Acragas. He was, sie however, carried by the winds into the Adriatic and landed in the territory of Apollonia. Finding that city besieged by Glaucias, the king of the Illyrians, he brought the siege to an end, persuading the king to make a treaty with the people of Apollonia. Thence he sailed to Tarentum, where he urged the people to join in freeing the Syracusans; and he persuaded them to vote to assist with twenty ships; for because of ties of kinship and on account of the dignity of his family, they ascribed to his words a high degree of sincerity and great importance.

71. While the Tarentines were engaged in their preparations, Aerotatus immediately sailed to Aeragas where he assumed the office of general. At first he buoyed up the common people with great expectations and caused all to anticipate a speedy overthrow of the tyrant; however, as time advanced, he accomplished nothing worthy either of his fatherland or of the distinction of his family, but on the contrary, heing bloodthirsty and more cruel than the tyrants, he continually gave offence to the common people. Moreover, he abandoned his native manner of living and devoted himself so unrestrainedly to pleasure that he seemed to be a Persian and not a Spartan. When he had squandered the larger part of the revenue, partly by his public activity, partly by private peculation, he finally invited to dinner Sosistratus,1 who was the most distinguished of the

and one of the Six Hundred at the time when Agathocles became tyrant, exaping death by flight. In chap. 3. 3, Diodorus, following some democratic source, describes him as one who "had spent the greater part of his life in plots, murders, and great impleties," in sharp contrast to the praise given him in this passage, probably based on Timaeus.

γάδων, πολλάκις δυνάμεων άφηγησάμενου, έπι τὸ δείπνον παραλαβών έδολοφόνησεν, εγκαλέσαι μέν απλώς οὐδ' ότιοῦν ἔχων, ἐκ ποδών δὲ ποιήσασθαι σπεύδων δραστικόν ανδρα και δυνάμενον εφεδρεύσαι 5 τοις κακώς προϊσταμένοις της ήγεμονίας. διαβοηθείσης δε της πράξεως εὐθύς οι τε φυγάδες συνέτρεχον επ' αὐτὸν καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ διετέθησαν άλλοτρίως και το μέν πρώτον απέστησαν αύτον της στρατηγίας, μετ' ολίγον δε και βάλλειν τοις λίθοις επεχείρησαν διόπερ φοβηθείς την του πλήθους δρμήν νυκτός εψυγε και λαθών διήρεν είς την 6 Λακωνικήν. τούτου δ' απαλλαγέντος Ταραντίνοι μέν ἀπεσταλκότες είς Σικελίαν τον στόλον μετεπέμψαντο, 'Ακραγαντίνοι δέ και Γελώοι και Μεσσήνιοι κατέλυσαν τον πρός 'Αγαθοκλέα πόλεμον, μεσιτεύσαντος τὰς συνθήκας 'Λμίλκου τοῦ Καρχη-7 δονίου. ήσαν δε τα κεφάλαια των συντεθέντων τοιάδε, των Ελληνίδων πόλεων των κατά Σικελίαν Ηράκλειαν μέν και Σελινούντα και πρός ταύταις Ίμέραν ύπο Καρχηδονίοις τετάχθαι, καθά καὶ προϋπήρχου, τὰς δ' άλλας πάσας αὐτονόμους είναι, την ηγεμονίαν εχόντων Συρακοσίων.

72. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 'Αγαθοκλῆς όρῶν ἔρημον οὖσαν τὴν Σικελίαν στρατοπέδων πολεμίων ἀδεῶς προσήγετο τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ χωρία. ταχὺ δὲ πολλῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἰσχυρὰν κατεσκευάσατο τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ γὰρ συμμάχων πλῆθος καὶ προσόδους άδρὰς καὶ στρατόπεδον ἀξιόλογον περι-

¹ σπεύδων added by Fischer, ep. chap. 55. 4.

¹ But in chap, 102, 1 we are told that Messenë was excluded from the peace.

BOOK XIX, 71, 4-72, 1

exiles and had often commanded armies, and treacher- 34 kg. ously killed him, not having any charge whatever to bring against him and yet being eager to put out of the way a man who was accustomed to act and who was capable of keeping under surveillance those who misused positions of leadership. When this deed became known, the exiles at once began to join forces against Acrotatus, and all the rest were alienated from him. First they removed him from his generalship, and soon afterwards they attempted to stone him, whereupon, terrified by the popular uprising, he took flight by night and sailed secretly to Laconia. After his departure the Tarentines, who had sent their fleet to Sicily, recalled it; and the peoples of Acragas, Gela, and Messene 1 brought their war against Agathoeles to an end, Hamilear the Carthaginian acting as mediator in making the treaty. The chief points of the agreement were as follows: of the Greek towns in Sicily, Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera were to be subject to the Carthaginians as they had been before, and all the others were to be autonomous under the hegemony of Syracuse.

72. Afterwards, however, when Agathoeles perceived that Sieily was clear of hostile armies, he began unhampered to subject the cities and strongholds to himself. Mastering many of them quickly, he made his power secure; in fact, he built up for himself a host of allies, ample revenues, and a

a It is probable that the events narrated in this paragraph belong, at least in part, to the following year, in the account

of which Sicily is not mentioned.

² He had previously shown himself favourable to Agathoeles (Justin, 22, 2, 6). He is possibly to be identified with the Hamilear who had fought against Timoleon (Plutarch, Timoleon, 25).

2 εποιήσατο. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ἐκ Συρακουσσῶν καταγραφέντων εἰς τὴν στρατείαν μισθοφόρους ἐπιλέκτους εἶχε πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους, ἰππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίους πεντήκοντα. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν, εἰδῶς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπιτετιμηκότας τῷ ᾿Αμίλκα περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν συντόμως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον ἐξοίσοντας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περί Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις

τοιαύτην έσχε την κατάστασιν.

3 Κατά δὲ τὴν Ίταλίαν Σαμνίται διαπολεμούντες 'Ρωμαίοις έτη πλείονα περί της ήγεμονίας Πληστικήν μέν φρουράν έχουσαν Τωμαϊκήν έξεπολιόρκησαν, Σωρανούς δ' έπεισαν κατασφάξαι μέν τούς παρ' αὐτοῖς 'Ρωμαίους, συμμαχίαν δέ πρός Σαμνί-4 τας συνθέσθαι. μετά δέ ταθτα Ρωμαίων Σατικόλαν πολιορκούντων επεφάνησαν μετά δυνάμεως άδρας, σπεύδοντες λύσαι την πολιορκίαν γενομένης ούν μάχης ἰσχυρῶς πολλοί μέν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ανηρέθησαν, τέλος δε επί του πρυτερήματος εγένοντο 'Ρωμαΐοι, μετά δε την μάχην εκπολιορκήσαντες την πόλιν επήεσαν άδεως τα πλησίον 5 πολίσματα καὶ χωρία προσαγόμενοι. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου περί τας έν 'Απουλία πόλεις συνεστώτος οί μεν Σαμνίται πάντας τους εν ήλικία στρατείας οντας καταγράψαντες έστρατοπέδευσαν πλησίον των 6 πολεμίων, ώς περί των όλων κριθησόμενοι. ά δή πυθόμενος ο δήμος των 'Ρωμαίων και διαγωνιάσας 1 handa Hertlein: handay.

* Continued in chap, 109,

¹ Hamilear was accused of treason but died before the trial was completed (Justin, 22, 3, 2-7).

BOOK XIX, 72, 1-6

considerable army. Indeed, without counting the stage, allies and those of the Syracusans who had enlisted for military service, he had a picked mercenary force comprising ten thousand foot soldiers and thirty-five hundred horse. Moreover, he prepared a store of weapons and of missiles of all kinds, since he knew that the Carthaginians, who had censured Hamilear for the terms of peace, would shortly wage war

ngninst him.

This was the situation of Sicilian affairs at this time.2 In Italy a the Samnites, fighting bitterly against the Romans for supremacy in a struggle lasting many years, took by siege Plestice, which had a Roman garrison, and persuaded the people of Sora to slay the Romans who were among them and to make an alliance with themselves. Next, as the Romans were besieging Saticula, the Samnites suddenly appeared with a strong army intent on raising the siege. A great battle then took place in which many were slain on both sides, but eventually the Romans gained the upper hand. After the battle the Romans carried the siege of the city to completion and then advanced at will, subjecting the near-by towns and strongholds. Now that the struggle for the cities of Apulia had been joined, the Samnites enrolled all who were of age for military service and encamped near the enemy as if intending to decide the whole issue. When the Roman people learned

4 The location of this town, called Plistica or Postia in

the MSS, of Livy, is not known.

Continued from chap. 65, 7; cp. Livy, 9, 21-23.

So the MSS., but Sora is in south-eastern Latium, Saticula on the frontier between Campania and Samnium, and Laustolac covers the shore road from Latium to Campania. Perhaps we should read "Campania."

περί του μέλλουτος δύναμιν προέπεμψε πολλήν. είωθότες δ' έν τοις επικινδύνοις καιροίς αύτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου καθιστάν τινά τῶν ἀξιολόγων ανδρών προεχειρίσαντο τότε Κόιντον Φάβιον καί 7 μετ' αὐτοῦ Κόιντον Αυλιων' εππαρχον. οῦτοι δὲ τας δυνάμεις παραλαβόντες παρετάξαντο πρός τους Σαμνίτας περί τὰς καλουμένας Λαυστόλας καὶ πολλούς των στρατιωτών ἀπέβαλον. τροπής δέ γενομένης καθ' απαν το στρατόπεδον ο μέν Λύλιος καταισχυνθείς επί τη φυγή μόνως ὑπέστη τω πλήθει των πολεμίων, οὐ κρατήσειν ἐλπίζων, ἀλλ' ἀήττητον τὴν πατρίδα τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος ἀποούτος μέν ούν ού μεταπχών τοίς 8 δεικνύων. πολίτοις της κατά την φυγήν αισχύνης ίδια περιεποιήσατο θάνατον ενδοξον οι δε Τιωμαίοι φοβηθέντες μη τα κατά την 'Απουλίαν πράγματα τελέως αποβάλωσιν, αποικίαν εξέπεμψαν είς Λουκερίων πόλιν επιφανεστάτην των έν τοις τόποις. Εκ ταύτης δε όρμωμενοι διεπολέμουν τοῖς Σαμνίταις, η ού κακώς της ασφαλείας προιοησάμενοι διά γάρ ταύτην την πόλιν οὺ μόνον ἐν τούτις τῷ πολέμος προετέρησαν, άλλα και κατά τους μετά ταθτα γενομένους έως των καθ' ήμας χρώνων διετέλευαν δρμητηρίω γρώμενοι κατά των πλησίον εθνών.

Αύλων Rhodoman, cp. Livy, 9, 23: "Ωλων RX, Αίλων F.
 τε after τῷ omitted by Rhodoman.
 Λουκερίαν Stephanus: Λοκρίαν RX, Λουκρίαν F.
 κατά added by Stephanus.

³ Called Lautulae by Livy (9, 23, 4-5), who says that this was a drawn battle, but admits that some of his sources called it a defeat in which Aulius lost his life. According to Livy, Fabius a few days later won a great victory, but this second battle is unknown to our other historians.

this, they became anxious about what was impending 314 a.c. and sent out a large army. As it was their custom in a dangerous crisis to appoint as military dictator one of their eminent men, they now elected Quintus Fabrus and with him Quintus Aulius as master-ofhorse. These, after assuming command of the army, took the field and fought against the Samnites at Laustolae, as it is called, losing many of their soldiers. As panic spread through the whole army, Aulius, in shame at the flight, stood alone against the mass of the enemy, not that he hoped to prevail, but he was maintaining his fatherland undefeated as far as he was concerned. Thus he, by not sharing with his fellow citizens in the disgrace of flight, gained a glorious death for himself alone; but the Romans, fearing that they might completely love control throughout Apulia, sent a colony to Luceria, which was the most noteworthy of the cities of that region. Using it as a base, they continued the war against the Samnites, having made no mean provision for their future security; for not only were the Romans victorious in this war because of this city, but also in the wars that have subsequently taken place down to our own time they have continued to use Luceria as a base of operations against the neighbouring peoples.2

² Livy (9, 26, 4-5) places the establishment of this colony under the next consuls, that is in 314 a.c. by the conventional Roman chronology, 313 a.c. according to Diodorus. Luceria served as a Roman base in the Second Punic War, remaining loyal in the darkest days of the conflict (Livy, 23, 9, 5; 23, 37, 13; 24, 3, 16, etc.); and in the Civil War Pompey used it for a time as his headquarters (Caesar, Civil War, 1, 24). For the possible bearing of this passage on the date of Diodorus' source for Roman history, see the Introduction to Vol. 1X, page ix. The account of Italian affairs is continued in chap. 76.

73. Των δέ κατά τοθτον τον ένιαυτον πράξεων τέλος έχουσῶν 'Αθήνησι μέν παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Θεόφραστος, εν 'Ι'ώμη δ' υπατοι κατεστάθησαν Μάρκος Πόπλιος και Γάιος Σουλπίκιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Καλλαντιανοί κατοικούντες έν τοις έν άριστερά μέρεσι του Πόντου καὶ φρουράν έχουτες παρά Λυσιμάχου ταύτην εξέβαλον και της αυτονομίας 2 άντείχοντο. ώσαύτως δε τήν τε των Ιστριανών πόλιν και τας άλλας τας πλησιοχώρους έλευθερώσαντες συνέθειτο συμμαχίαν ώς κοινή πολεμείν τω δυνάστη προσελάβουτο δ' είς την φιλίων τών τε Θρακών και Σκυθών τους ομορούντας, ώστε το πάν είναι σύστημα βάρος έχον και δυνάμενον άδραις 3 δυνάμεσιν άντιτάσσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Λυσίμαχος πυθόμενος τὰ πεπραγμένα μετά της δυνάμεως δριησεν έπὶ τοὺς άφεστηκότας. ποιούμενος δὲ την πορείαν διά της Θράκης και του Λίμου ύπερβαλών κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον της 'Οδησσού, πολιορκίων δέ συστησάμενος ταχύ τους ένδον κατεπλήξατο καί 4 δι' όμολογίας παρέλαβε την πόλιν. μετά δε ταθτα τω παραπλησίω τρόπω τους Ιστριανούς άνακτησάμενος ανέζευξεν επί Καλλαντιανούς. καθ' ον δή χρόνον ήκον οί τε Σκύθαι και Θράκες σύν πολλή δυνάμει βοηθήσοντες τοις συμμάχοις κατά τάς 5 συνθήκας. οίς άπαντήσας Λυσίμαχος καὶ συμβαλών έξ εφόδου τους μεν Θράκας καταπληξάμενος έπεισε μεταθέσθαι, τους δε Σκύθας εκ παρατάξεως νικήσας και πολλούς άνελών τούτων μέν τούς υπολειφθέντας εδίωξεν εκτός των υρων, την δε των

² Theophrastus was archon in 318/13 a.c. In the Fasti Capitolini the consuls for 314 s.c. arc M. Poetelius Libo 32

BOOK XIX. 73, 1-5

73. When the activities of this year had come to siz B.C. an end, Theophrastus obtained the archonship in Athens, and Marcus Publius and Gaius Sulpicius became consuls in Rome.1 While these were in office, the people of Callantia, who lived on the left side of the Pontus 2 and who were subject to a garrison that had been sent by Lysimachus, drove out this garrison and made an effort to gain autonomy. In like manner they freed the city of the Istrians and the other neighbouring cities, and formed an alliance with them binding them to fight together against the prince. They also brought into the alliance those of the Thracians and Scythians whose lands bordered upon their own, so that the whole was a union that had weight and could offer battle with strong forces. As soon, however, as Lysimachus learned what had taken place, he set out with his army against the rebels. After marching through Thrace and crossing the Haemus Mountains, he encamped near Odessus. Beginning a siege, he quickly frightened the inhabitants and took the city by capitulation. Next, after recovering the Istrians in a similar way, he set out against the Callantians. At this very time the Scythians and the Thracians arrived with large forces to aid their allies in accordance with the treaty. Lysimachus, meeting them and engaging them at once, terrified the Thracians and induced them to change sides; but the Scythians he defeated in a pitched battle, slaying many of them and pursuing the survivors beyond the frontiers.

and C. Sulpicius Longus for the third time (CIL, 1, p. 130; cp. Livy, 9, 24, 1).

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² i.e. on the left as one enters the Euxine from the Bosporus. The city is called Callatis by Strabo, 7. 5. 12. The narrative is continued from chap. 69.

Καλλαντιανών πόλιν περιστρατοπεδεύσας συνεστήσατο πολιορκίαν, φιλοτιμούμενος έκ παντός τρόπου 8 κολάσαι τους αιτίους της αποστάσεως. περί ταθτα δ' όντος αὐτοθ παρησάν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες ότι δύο δυνάμεις απέσταλκεν 'Αντίγονος έπὶ βοήθειαν τοις Καλλαντιανοίς, την μέν πεζή, την δέ κατά θάλασσαν, και διότι τω μέν στόλω Λύκων ό στρατηγός παραπέπλευκεν είς τον Πόντον, Παυσανίας δ' έχων ούκ ολίγους στρατιώτας περί το 7 καλούμενον Ίερον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. έφ' οίς ό Αυσίμαγος διαταραχθείς έπι μέν της πολιορκίας απέλιπεν τους ικανούς στρατιώτας, το δε κράτιστον της δυνάμεως άναλαβών αὐτος ηπείγετο, σπεύδων 8 συνάψαι τοις πολεμίοις. παραγενόμενος δε επί την κατά τον Αξμον ύπερβολήν εύρε Σεύθην τον βασιλέα τῶν Θρακῶν ἀφεστηκότα πρὸς 'Αντίγονον μετά πολλών στρατιωτών φυλάσσοντα τας παρόδους. ο συνάψας δ' αὐτῷ μάχην ἐφ' ἰκανὸν χρόνον τῶν τε ίδίων απέβαλεν ούκ δλίγους και των πολεμίων 10 ανελών παμπληθείς εβιάσατο τους βαρβάρους. Επιφανείς δέ και τοις περί τον Παυσανίαν και καταλαβών αὐτούς εἰς δυσχωρίας συμπεφευγότας ταύτας τ' έξεπολιόρκησε καὶ Παυσανίαν ανελών τῶν στρατιωτών ους μέν ελύτρωσεν, ους δε είς τας ίδίας τάξεις διένειμεν.

Τὰ μέν οὖν περὶ Λυσίμαχον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
74. Ὁ δ' ᾿Αντίγονος ἀποτυχών ταύτης τῆς ἐπι-

βολης εξέπεμψε Τελεσφόρον είς Πελοπόννησον, δούς αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ στρατιώτας τοὺς

¹ i.e. the Temple, or Sacred Place. The exact location is not known.

BOOK XIX, 73, 5-74, 1

Then, encamping about the city of the Callantians, 313 B.C. he laid siege to it, since he was very eager to chastise in every way those who were responsible for the While he was thus engaged, there came certain men bringing word that Antigonus had sent two expeditions to the support of the Callantians, one by land and one by sea, that the general Lycon with the fleet had sailed through into the Pontus, and that Pausanias with a considerable number of soldiers was in camp at a place called Hieron.1 Perturbed at this, Lysimachus left an adequate body of soldiers to carry on the siege 2; but with the strongest part of the army he himself pushed on, intent on making contact with the enemy. When, however, he reached the pass over the Haemus, he found Seuthes, the Thracian king, who had gone over to Antigonus, guarding the crossing with many Engaging him in a battle that lasted a considerable time, Lysimachus lost not a few of his own men; but he destroyed a vast number of the enemy and overpowered the barbarians. He also came suddenly upon the forces of Pausanias, catching them after they had taken refuge in a place difficult This he captured; and, after slaving Pausanias, he dismissed some of the soldiers on receiving ransom and enrolled others in his own army.

This was the situation of Lysimachus.

74. Antigonus, after he had failed in this undertaking, dispatched Telesphorus into the Peloponnesus, giving him fifty ships and a suitable force of

⁸ Probably a nephew of Antigonus (Diogenes Laertius, 5. 79; cp. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 4. 1. 122, note 3).

² We do not know the outcome of the siege. In 310 B.C. the Callantians are still resisting Lysimachus although hard pressed (Book 20. 25. 1).

ίκανούς, και τας πόλεις έλευθερούν ένετείλατο. τούτο γάρ πράξας ήλπιζε πίστιν κατασκευάζειν παρά τοις Ελλησιν ότι πρός Ελήθειαν φροντίζει της αὐτονομίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἄμα γινώσκειν ὑπ-2 έβαλει τὰ Κασάνδρου πρέγματα. ὁ δὲ Τελεσφόρος έπειδή τάχιστα κατέπλευσεν είς την Πελοπόινησον, ἐπηλθε τὰς ὑπ' ᾿Λλεξάνδρου φρουρουμένας πόλεις καὶ πάσας ηλευθέρωσε πλην Σικυώνος καὶ Κορίνθου έν ταύταις γάρ Πολυπέρχων διέτριβεν δυνάμεις άδρας έχων και πιστεύων ταύταις τε και ταις των 3 τόπων όχυρότηταν. άμα δε τούτοις πραττομένοις Φίλιππος ύπο Κασάνδρου πεμφθείς στρατηγός είς τον πρός Λίτωλούς πόλεμον, ώς τάχισθ' ήκεν είς την 'Ακαρνανίαν μετά της δυνάμεως, το μέν πρώτον επεχείρει λεηλατείν την Λίτωλίαν, μετ' όλίγον δέ πυθόμενος Λιακίδην τον Ήπειρώτην είς την βασιλείαν κατεληλυθότα και δύναμιν άδραν συνηθροικότα ταχέως ώρμησεν επ' αὐτύν εσπευδε γάρ κατ' ίδιαν διαγωνίσασθαι πρίν ή συμμίξαι την των 4 Αλτωλών δύναμιν. εύρων δέ τους 'Ππειρώτας έτοίμους είς μάχην έξ εφάδου συνήψεν είς χείρας καὶ πολλούς μέν ἀνείλεν, ούκ όλίγους δ' εξώγρησεν. έν οίς συνέβαινεν είναι καὶ των αιτίων της του

ὑπέβαλε l'ost : ὑπέλαβε.
 κατεληλυθότα Reiske : διεληλυθύτα.

Alexander, son of Polyperchon, was dead, but his wife still held certain cities, ep. chap. 67, 1-2.

infantry, and he ordered him to free the cities, for BIS B.C. he hoped by doing this to establish among the Greeks the belief that he truly was concerned for their independence; and at the same time he gave him a hift to note the activities of Cassander. As soon as Telesphorus had reached port in the Peloponnesus, he advanced upon the cities that were occupied by Alexander's garrisons 1 and freed all of them except Sievon and Corinth; for in these cities Polyperchon had his quarters, maintaining strong forces and trusting in these and in the strength of the positions. While this was being done, Philip,2 who had been sent by Cassander to the war against the Actolians as commander, immediately on arriving in Acarnania with his army undertook to plunder Aetolia, but soon, hearing that Aeacides 3 the Epirote had returned to his kingdom and had collected a strong army, he set out very quickly against him, for he was eager to bring this struggle to an end separately before the army of the Aetolians joined forces with the king. Although he found the Epirotes ready for battle, he attacked them at once, slaving many and taking captive no small number, among whom there chanced to be about fifty of those responsible

² This is probably the younger brother of Cassander, who, as one of Alexander's cupbearers, was charged by Olympias with having given him poison (Justin, 12. 14. 6). After this campaign he returns to obscurity; a son, Antipater, was king of Macedonia for 45 days in 281-280 B.C. (Porphyrius, FGrII, 260. 3. 10).

3 He was exiled with his father by Philip but returned to power by aid of Olympias. After Alexander's death he supported Olympias and Polyperchon (chap. 11. 2), his zeal finally turning his own people against him and leading to a second exile (chap. 36. 2-4). He appears to have returned to Aetolia with Polyperchon in 316 s.c. (chap. 52. 6).

βασιλέως καθόδου περί πεντήκοντα τον αριθμόν, 5 οδς δήσας απέστειλε πρός Κάσανδρον. των δε περί τον Αιακίδην αθροισθέντων έκ της φυγης και τοις Λίτωλοις συμμιξάντων πάλιν επελθών ο Φίλιππος μάχη εκράτησεν και πολλούς ανείλεν, εν οίς ην και 6 Λιακίδης ο βασιλεύς. εν ολίγαις δ' ήμεραις τηλικαιτα ποιήσας προτερήματα κατεπλήξατο πολλούς των Αιτωλών επί τοσούτον ωστε τας ανοχύρους πόλεις εκλιπείν, εις δε τα δυσβατώτατα των όρων συμφυγείν μετά τέκνων και γυναικών.

Καὶ τὰ μέν περὶ τὴν Ελλάδα πραχθέιτα τοιούτον

έσχε τὸ τέλος.

75. Κατά δὲ τὴν 'Λοίαν "Λοανδρος' ὁ τῆς Καρίας κυριεύων πιεζούμενος τῷ πολέμιο διελύσατο πρὸς 'Λυτίγονον ἐφ' ῷ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας παραδώσει πάντας 'Λυτιγόνω, τὰς δ' 'Ελληνίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἀφήσει, τὴν δὲ σατραπείαν ῆν πρότερον εἶχε δωρεὰν καθέξει, βέβαιος ὢν φίλος 'Λυτιγόνω. 2 δοὺς δὲ περὶ τούτων ὅμηρον 'Αγάθωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μεταμεληθεὶς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ἐξέκλεψεν ἐκ τῆς ὁμηρίας πρὸς δὲ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Σέλευκον διαπρεσβευσάμενος ἡξίου βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. ἐφ' οἶς 'Λυτίγονος δεινοπαθήσας δύναμιν ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν τῶν πόλεων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν τῶν πόλεων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ

κατά θάλασσαν, του μέν στόλου ναύαρχον ἀποδείξας

² την δε σατραπείαν ην πρότερον είχε δωρεάν καθέξει Γ 2d

^{1 &}quot;Aσανδρος Wesseling (ep. Book 18, 8, 1): Κάσανδρος MSS., Fischer.

BOOK XIX, 74, 4-75, 3

for the return of the king; these he bound and sent \$13 s.c. to Cassander.¹ As Aeacides and his men rallied from the fight and joined the Aetolians, Philip again advanced and overpowered them in battle, slaying many, among whom was King Aeacides ¹ himself. By gaining such victories in a few days Philip so terrified many of the Aetolians that they abandoned their unfortified cities and fled to the most inaccessible of their mountains with their children and their women.

Such was the outcome of the campaign in Greece.³
75. In Asia, Asander,⁴ the ruler of Caria, being hard pressed by the war, came to terms with Antigonus, agreeing to transfer to him all his soldiers, to relinquish the Greek cities and leave them autonomous, and to hold as a grant the satrapy that he had formerly had, remaining a steadfast friend of Antigonus. Having given his brother Agathon as a hostage for the fulfilment of these terms and then after a few days having repented of the agreement, he secretly removed his brother from custody and sent emissaries to Ptolemy and Seleucus, begging them to aid him as soon as possible. Antigonus, enraged at this, dispatched a force both by sea and by land to liberate the cities, appointing Medius

Pausanias (1. II. 4) tells us that this battle was fought at Oeniadae.

4 He had been sent to Caria in the preceding year by

Cassander (chap. 68. 4-7).

² His son Pyrrhus, the later king of Epirus, was adopted and reared by Glaucias, king of Illyria, who seems to have been related to him in some way (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 3; Justin, 17, 3, 16-19).

² Continued in chap. 75. 6.

hand: τὰς δὲ σατραπείας ᾶς πρότερον είχε δωρεὰν καθέξειν F, τὰς δὲ σατραπείας δωρεὰς ᾶς πρότερον είχε καθέξει RX.

Μήδιον, του δέ στρατοπέδου καταστήσας στρατη-4 γον Δόκιμον. ούτοι δὲ παραγενόμενοι πρός την πόλιν των Μιλησίων τούς τε πολύτας εκάλουν επί την ελευθερίαν και την φρουρουμένην άκραν έκπολιορκήσαντες είς αὐτουομίαν ἀποκατέστησαν τὸ 5 πολίτευμα. περί ταθτα δ' όντων τούτων 'Αντίγονος Τράλλεις έξεπολιόρκησεν είς δε Καθνον παρελθών και τον στόλον μεταπεμβάμενος είλε και ταίτην την πόλιν πλην της άκρας ταύτην δέ περιχαρακώσας, καθ' ὁ μέρος τρι προσμάχεσθαι, συνεχείς προσβολάς εποιείτο. επί δε την Ιαπον πάλιν έκπεμφθείς Πτολεμαίος μετά δυνάμεως ίκανής 6 ηνάγκασε προσθέσθαι τοις περί 'Αντίγονον. αθται μέν ούν της Καρίας ούσαι τούτον του τρόπου ύπετάγησαν 'Αντιγόνω. μετ' όλίγας δ' ήμέρας έλθόντων πρός αὐτὸν πρεσβευτών παρ' Λίτωλών καί Βοιωτών προς μέν τούτους συμμαχίαν συνέθετο, τω δε Κασάνδρω συνελθών είς λύγους ύπερ είρήνης περί τον Ελλήσποντον απήλθεν απρακτος, ού δυναμένων αυτών ουδαμώς συμφωνήσαι. διόπερ ό Κάσανδρος απογνούς τὰς διαλύσεις διέγνω τῶν κατά την Ελλάδα πάλιν πραγμάτων αντέχεσθαι. 7 αναζεύξας ουν μετά τριάκοντα νεών είς Ωρεόν επολιόρκει την πόλιν. ένεργως δ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς προσβολαίς χρωμένου και του πολίσματος ήδη κατά κράτος άλισκομένου παρεγένετο βοηθήσων τοις 'Ωρείταις Τελεσφόρος μέν έκ Πελοποννήσου μετά νεών είκοσι καὶ στρατιωτών χιλίων, Μήδιος Βδ' ἐκ τῆς 'Λσίας ἔχων ναῦς ἐκατόν. οὖτοι δ' ορώντες έφορμούσας τω λιμένι τὰς τοῦ Κασάνδρου

BOOK XIX, 75, 3-8

admiral of the fleet and making Docimus general 313 s.c. of the army.1 These men, coming to the city of the Milesians, encouraged the citizens to assert their freedom; and, after taking by siege the citadel, which was held by a garrison, they restored the independence of the government. While they were thus engaged, Antigonus besieged and took Tralles; then, proceeding to Caunus and summoning the fleet, he captured that city also except for its citadel. Investing this, he kept making continuous attacks on the side where it was most easily assailed. Ptolemaeus.3 who had been sent to lasus with an adequate force, compelled that city to support Antigonus. In this way, then, these cities, which were in Caria, were made subject to Antigonus. A few days later. when ambassadors came to the latter from the Actolians and the Bocotians, he made an alliance with them; but, when he entered into negotiations with Cassander about peace in the Hellespontine region, he accomplished nothing since they could in no way agree. For this reason Cassander gave up hope of settlement and decided to play a part once more in the affairs of Greece. Setting out for Oreis,3 therefore, with thirty ships, he laid siege to the city. While he was vigorously attacking and was already at the point of taking the city by storm, reinforcements appeared for the people of Oreus: Telesphorus from the Peloponnesus with twenty ships and a thousand soldiers, and Medius from Asia with a hundred ships. They saw the ships of Cassander blockading the harbour and threw fire

The nephew of Antigonus, cp. chap. 68. 5.

At the northern end of Euboea.

¹ For Medius cp. chap. 69. 3 and note. Nothing is known of the earlier career of Docimus.

ναῦς πῦρ ἐνῆκαν καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν κατέκαυσαν, παρ' δλίγον δὲ καὶ πάσας διέψθειραν· τοῖς δ' ἐλαττουμένοις παραγενομένης βοηθείας ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν ἐπέπλευσαν οἱ περὶ Κάσανδρον καταφρονοῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. συμβαλόντες δ' αὐτοῖς μίαν μὲν κατέδυσαν, τρεῖς δ' αὐτάνδρους ἔλαβον.

Καὶ τὰ μέν πραχθέντα περί τὴν Ελλάδα καὶ τον

Πόντον τοιαθτ' ην.

76. Κατά δε την Ιταλίαν Σαμνίται μεν μετά πολλής δυνάμεως επήεσαν πορθούντες των κατά Καμπανίαν πόλεων όσαι τοῖς εναντίοις συνηγωνίζοντο, οί δ' υπατοι των Τωμαίων μετά στρατοπέδου παραγενόμενοι παραβοηθείν επειρώντο τοίς 2 κινδυνεύουσιν των συμμάχων. άντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο δέ τοις πολεμίοις περί Ταρακίναν πόλιν καί ταύτην μεν είθυς ερύσαντο των επικειμένων φόβων, μετ' όλίνας δ' πμέρας εκταξάντων αμφοτέρων τας δυνάμεις εγένετο μάχη καρτερά και συχνοί παρ' αμφοτέροις έπεσον. το δε τέλος οι 'Ρωμαΐοι βιασάμενοι κατά κράτος περιεγένοντο τῶν πολεμίων, έπὶ πολύν δὲ χρόνον χρησάμενοι τῷ διωγμῷ πλείους 3 των μυρίων ανείλον. και της μάγης αγνοουμένης έτι Καμπανοί μέν καταφρονήσαντες των 'Ρωμαίων απέστησαν, ό δε δημος εύθυς δύναμίν τε την ικαιτήν έξέπεμψεν έπ' αὐτούς και στρατηγόν αὐτοκράτορα Γάιον Μάνιον καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον έθος 4 Μάνιον Φούλβιον ἵππαρχον.* τούτων δὲ πλησίον της Καπύης καταστρατοπεδευσάντων οι Καμπανοί

¹ Καμπανίαν Binneboessel: 'Ιταλίαν MSS., Pischer (who calls the reading certs mendosum).

BOOK XIX, 75, 8-76, 4

into them, burning four and almost destroying them 313 B.C. all: but when reinforcements for the defeated came from Athens, Cassander sailed out against the enemy, who were off their guard. When they met, he sank

one ship and seized three with their crews.1

Such were the activities in Greece and the Pontus.2 76. In Italy,3 the Samnites were advancing with a large army, destroying whatever cities in Campania were supporting their enemies; and the Roman consuls, coming up with an army, were trying to aid those of their allies who were in danger. They took the field against the enemy near Tarracina 5 and at once relieved that city from its immediate fears; then a few days later, when both sides had drawn up their armies, a hard-fought battle took place and very many fell on both sides. Finally the Romans, pressing on with all their strength, got the better of their enemies and, pushing the pursuit for a long time, slew more than ten thousand. While this battle was still unknown to them, the Campanians, scorning the Romans, rose in rebellion; but the people at once sent an adequate force against them with the dictator Gaius Manius as commander and accompanying him, according to the national custom, Manius Fulvius as master-of-horse. When these were in position near Capua, the Campanians at first en-

³ Continued from chap. 72. 9. Cp. Livy, 9. 26-27.

¹ The fleet from Athens was commanded by Thymochares (162, 2, 1, 682). The narrative is continued in chap. 77.

⁴ But ep, the critical note.

But cp. the critical note. No such battle as the one here described is recorded by Livy among the events of this year (Livy, 9, 26-27).

^{*} Tapakiyav Burger: Kivvav MSS., Fischer. 3 immanyov added by editors.

τό μέν πρώτον έπεχείρουν αγωνίζεσθαι, μετά δέ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι τὴν τῶν Σαμνιτῶν ἦτταν καὶ νομίσαντες πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ἤξειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὲκόσαντο πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους' τοὺς γὰρ αἰτίους τῆς ταραχῆς ἐξέδωκαν, οι προτεθείσης κρίσεως οὐ περιμείναντες τὴν ἀπόφασιν αὐτοὺς ἀνείλαν. αὶ δὰ πόλεις τυχοῦσαι συγγνώμης εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν

συμμαχίαν άποκατέστησαν.

77. Τοῦ δ' έτους τούτου διελθόντος 'Αθήνησι μέν ίρχε Πολέμων, εν 'Ρώμη δ' υπήρχου υπατοι Λεύκιος Παπείριος το πέμπτου και Γάιος Τούνιος, ήχθη δέ καὶ 'Ολυμπιάς κατά τοῦτον τον ένιαυτον έβδόμη πρός ταις έκατον και δέκα, καθ' ήν ενίκα 2 στάδιον Παρμενίων Μιτυληναΐος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τών γρόνων Αντίγονος απέστειλεν είς την Ελλάδα στρατηγόν Πτολεμαΐου τούς Ελληνας έλευθερώσοντα, συνέπεμψε δ' αὐτώ ναθς μέν μακράς έκατον καὶ πεντήκοντα, Μήδιον επιστήσας ναύαρχον, στρατιώτας δέ πεζούς μέν πεντακισγιλίους, ίππεις δέ 3 πεντακοσίους. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ πρὸς 'l'αδίους συμμαχίαν και προσελάβετο παρ' αυτών ναυς έξηρτισμένας πρός τον πόλεμον δέκα πρός την των 4 Ελλήνων έλευθέρωσιν. δ δε Πτολεμαίος μετά παυτός τοῦ στόλου καταπλεύσας της Βοιωτίας είς τον Βαθύν καλούμενον λιμένα παρά μέν του κοινού των Βοιωτών προσελάβετο στρατιώτας πεζούς μέν δισχιλίους διακοσίους, ίππεις δε χιλίους τριακοσίους. μετεπέμψατο δε και τας εξ 'Ωρεοῦ ναῦς και

¹ Trodepator Palmer: Hodepwra.

¹ For this revolt cp. Livy, 9. 26. 5-7, where, however,

BOOK XIX, 76, 4-77, 4

deavoured to fight; but afterwards, hearing of the 318 B.C. defeat of the Samnites and believing that all the forces would come against themselves, they made terms with the Romans. They surrendered those guilty of the uprising, who without awaiting the judgement of the trial that was instituted killed themselves. But the cities gained pardon and were rejustated in their former alliance.

77. When this year had passed, Polemon was archon in Athens, and in Rome the consuls were Lucius Papirius for the fifth time and Gaius Innius?: and in this year the Olympic Games were celebrated for the one hundred and seventeenth time, Parmenion of Mitylenê winning the footrace. In this year 3 Antigonus ordered his general Ptolemaeus into Greece to set the Greeks free and sent with him one hundred and fifty warships, placing Medius in command of them as admiral, and an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Antigonus also made an alliance with the Rhodians and received from them for the liberation of the Greeks ten ships fully equipped for war. Ptolemaeus, putting in with the entire fleet at the harbour of Bocotia known as Bathys,4 received from the Boeotian League two thousand two hundred foot soldiers and one thousand three hundred horse. He also summoned his ships

the dictator and master-of-horse are called respectively C. Macnius and M. Folius. The account of Roman affairs is

continued in chap, 101,

² Polemon was archon in 312/11 s.c. In the Fasti Capitolini the consuls for 313 s.c. are L. Papirius Cursor for the fifth time and C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus for the second time (CIL, 1, p. 130; cp. Livy, 9. 28. 2). The events related in chaps. 77-80. 2 still belong to the year 313 s.c.

The narrative is continued from chap. 75. 8.

i.e. "Deep," on the Euripus near Aulis.

τειγίσας τον Σαλγανέα συνήγαγεν ένταθθα πάσαν την δύναμιν ήλπιζε γάρ προσδέξασθαι τούς Χαλκιδείς, οίπερ μόνοι των Εύβοέων ύπο των πολε-5 μίων εφρουρούντο. ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος άγωνιών ὑπερ της Χαλκίδος την 'Πρεού πολιορκίαν έλυσεν, είς δέ την Χαλκίδα παρήλθεν και της δυνάμεις μετεπέμπετο. 'Αντίγονος δε πυθύμενος περί την Εύβοιαν εφεδρεύειν άλληλοις τα στρατόπεδα, μετεπέμψατο τον Μήδιον είς την 'Ασίαν μετά τοῦ στόλου, εύθυς δε και της δυνάμεις αναλαβών προηγεν εφ' Έλλησπόντω κατά τάχος, ώς διαβησόμενος είς Μακεδονίαν, όπως ή μενοντος Κασώνδρου περί την Ευβοιαν αυτός έρημον καταλάβη Μακεδονίαν των αμυνομένων ή τη βασιλεία βαηθών αποβάλη 6 τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ελλάδα πράγματα, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος συνιδών την επίνοιαν αὐτοῦ Πλείσταργον μεν άπέλιπεν έπὶ της έν Χαλκίδι φρουράς, πύτος δέ μετά πάσης της δυνάμεως αναζεύξας 'Ωρωπόν μέν κατά κράτος είλε, Θηβαίους δ' είς την αύτοῦ συμμαχίαν κατέστησεν πρός δε τους άλλους Βοιωτούς άνοχώς ποιησάμενος και καταλιπών επί της Ελλάδος στρατηγόν Εὐπόλεμον ἀπηλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, 7 άγωνιών περί της των πολεμίων διαβίσεως. όδ' Αντίγονος επειδή κατήντησεν είς την Προποντίδα, διεπρεσβεύσατο πρός Βυζαντίους αξιών μετέχειν της συμμαχίας. παραγενομένων δέ καὶ παρά Λυσιμάγου πρεσβευτών και παρακαλούντων μηδέν ποιείν μήτε κατ' αὐτοῦ μήτε κατὰ Καυάνδρου τοῖς μεν Βυζαντίοις έδοξε μένειν έφ' ήσυχίας καὶ τηρεῖν τὴν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους εἰρήνην ἄμα καὶ φιλίαν. ὁ δ' 'Αντίγονος δυσχρηστούμενος επί τούτοις, αμα

from Oreus, fortified Salganeus,1 and gathered there 313 u.c. his entire force; for he hoped to be admitted by the Chalcidians, who alone of the Euboeans were garrisoned by the enemy. But Cassander, in his anxiety for Chalcis, gave up the siege of Oreus, moved to Chalcis, and summoned his forces. When Antigonus heard that in Euboea the armed forces were watching each other, he recalled Medius to Asia with the fleet, and at once with his armies set out at top speed for the Hellespont as if intending to cross over into Macedonia, in order that, if Cassander remained in Euboca, he might himself occupy Macedonia while it was stripped of defenders, or that Cassander, going to the defence of his kingdom, might lose his supremacy in Greece. But Cassander, perceiving Antigonus' plan, left Pleistarchus 2 in command of the garrison in Chalcis and setting out himself with all his forces took Oropus by storm and brought the Thebans into his alliance. Then, after making a truce with the other Bocotians and leaving Eupolemus as general for Greece, he went into Macedonia, for he was apprehensive of the enemy's crossing. As for Antigonus, when he came to the Propontis, he sent an embassy to the Byzantines, asking them to enter the alliance. But there had arrived envoys from Lysimachus also who were urging them to do nothing against either Lysimachus or Cassander; and the Byzantines decided to remain neutral and to maintain peace and friendship toward both parties. Antigonus, because he had been foiled in these undertakings and also because the winter season

¹ A town on the east coast of Boeotia, commanding the northern entrance of the Euripus (Strabo, 9. 2. 9).

² A son of Antipater and brother of Cassander (Plutarch, Demetrius, 31, 5; cp. Book 20. 112; Pausanias, 1. 15. 1).

δε και της χειμερινης ώρας συγκλειούσης διέδωκε τους στρατιώτας κατά πόλιν είς την χειμασίαν.

78. "Αμα δέ τούτοις πραττομένοις Κορκυραίοι μέν βοηθήσαντες 'Απολλωνιάταις και τοις 'Επιδαμνίοις τούς μέν στρατιώτας Κασάνδρου ύποσπόνδους άφηκαν, των δε πόλεων 'Απολλωνίαν μέν ηλευθέρωσαν, Επίδαμνον δε Γλαυκία τω των 2 Ίλλυριών βασιλεί παρέδωκαν. ὁ δ' 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγός Πτολεμαΐος χωρισθέντος είς Μακεδονίαν Κασάνδρου καταπληξάμενος τους φρουρούντας την Χαλκίδα παρέλαβε την πόλιν και τούς Χαλκιδείς άφηκεν άφρουρήτους, ώστε γενέσθαι φανερον ώς πρός άλήθειαν 'Αντίγουσο έλευθερούν προήρηται τούς "Ελληνας" επίκαιρος γάρ ή πόλις εστί τοίς βουλομένοις έχειν δρμητήριον προς το διαπαλεμείν 3 περί των όλων. ὁ δ' οῦν Πτολεμαῖος ἐκπολιορκήσας 'Ωρωπον παρέδωκε τοις Βοιωτοίς και τούς Κασάνδρου στρατιώτας ύποχειρίους έλαβε. μετά δέ ταυτα Ερετριείς και Καρυστίους είς την συμμαχίαν προσλαβόμενος εστράτευσεν είς την 'Αττικήν, Δημητρίου του Φαληρέως επιστατούντος της 4 πόλεως. οί δ' 'Αθηναΐοι το μέν πρώτον λάθρα διεπέμποντο προς 'Αντίγονον άξιοθντες ελευθερώσαι την πόλιν τότε δε του Πτολεμαίου παραγενηθέντος πλησίον της πόλεως βαρρήσαντες ηνάγκασαν τον Δημήτριον άνοχας ποιήσασθαι και πρεσβείας άπο-5 στέλλειν πρός Αντίγονον περί συμμαχίας. ὁ δέ Πτολεμαίος αναζεύξας εκ της Αττικής είς την Βοιωτίαν τήν τε Καδμείαν είλε και την φρουράν εκβαλών ήλευθέρωσε τὰς Θήβας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα

πρός τὸ added by Kallenberg.
 Πτολεμαῖος Palmer: Πολέμων.

BOOK XIX. 77, 7-78, 5

was closing in upon him, distributed his soldiers 813 B.C.

among the cities for the winter.1

78. While these things were going on, the Corcyracans,2 who had gone to the aid of the people of Apollonia and Epidamnus, dismissed Cassander's soldiers under a truce; and of these cities they freed Apollonia, but Epidamnus they gave over to Glaucias, the king of the Illyrians. After Cassander had departed for Macedonia, Antigonus' general Ptolemacus, striking fear into the garrison that was holding Chalcis, took the city; and he left the Chalcidians without a garrison in order to make it evident that Antigonus in very truth proposed to free the Greeks, for the city is well placed for any who wish to have a base from which to carry through a war for supremacy.3 However that may be, when Ptolemacus had taken Oropus by siege, he gave it back to the Bocotians and made captive the troops of Cassander.4 Thereafter, having received the people of Eretria and Carystus into the alliance, he moved into Attica, where Demetrius of Phalerum was governing the city. At first the Athenians kept sending secretly to Antigonus, begging him to free the city; but then, taking courage when Ptolemaeus drew near the city, they forced Demetrius to make a truce and to send envoys to Antigonus about an alliance. Ptolemacus, moving from Attica into Boeotia, took the Cadmea, drove out the garrison, and freed Thebes. After this he advanced into Phocis

The winter of 343/12 n.c.

<sup>Cp. chaps. 67. 6; 70. 7.
Philip V of Macedonia named Chalcis one of the "three fetters of Greece" (Polybius, 18. 11; Livy, 32. 37. 3).</sup>

⁴ i.e. the troops left in Oropus by Cassander as a garrison, cp. chap. 77. 6.

πορευθείς είς την Φωκίδα και τὰς μὲν πλείους τῶν πόλεων προσαγόμενος ἐξέβαλε πανταχόθεν τὰς Κασάνδρου φρουράς· ἐπηλθε δὲ και τὴν Λοκρίδα και τῶν 'Οπουντίων τὰ Κασάνδρου φρονούντων συνεστήσατο πολιορκίαν και συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς ἐποιείτο.

79. Της δ' αὐτης θερίας οί Κυρηναίοι μέν αποστάντες Πτολεμαίου την ακραν περιεστρατοπέδευσαν, ώς αὐτίκα μάλα την φρουράν ἐκβαλούντες, παραγενομένων δέ πρεσβευτών έκ της 'Αλεξανδρείας και παρακαλούντων παύσασθαι της φιλοτιμίας τούτους μέν απέκτειναν, την δ' ακραν 2 ενεργέστερον επολιόρκουν. έφ' αίς παραξινθείς ό Πτολεμαίος απέστειλεν "Αγιν στρατηγών μετά δυνάμεως πεζής, έξέπεμψε δε καὶ στόλον τον συλληψόμενον τοῦ πολέμου, ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσας 'Επαι-3 νετόν. ὁ δὲ "Αγις ἐνεργῶς διαπολεμήσας τοῦς άφεστηκόσιν έκυρίευσε κατά κράτος της πόλοως και τους μέν αιτίους της αποστάσεως δήσας απέστειλεν είς την 'Αλεξάνδρειαν και των άλλων τὰ άπλα παρελόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διοικήσας ως ποτ' έδοξεν αὐτώ συμφέρειν επαιηλθεν είς την Αίγυπτον.

1 of added by Camps.

where he won over most of the cities and from all 313 B.C. of these expelled the garrisons of Cassander. He also marched against Locris; and, since the Opuntians belonged to the party of Cassander, he began a siege and made continuous attacks.

79. In that same summer * the people of Cyrenê revolted from Ptolemy, invested the citadel, and seemed on the point of immediately casting out the garrison; and, when envoys came from Alexandria and bade them cease from their sedition, they killed them and continued the attack on the citadel with greater vigour. Enraged at them, Ptolemy dispatched Agis as general with a land army and also sent a fleet to take part in the war, placing Epacnetus in command. Agis attacked the rebels with vigour and took the city by storm. Those who were guilty of the sedition he bound and sent to Alexandria; and then, after depriving the others of their arms and arranging the affairs of the city in whatever way seemed best to himself, he returned to Egypt.

But Ptolemy, now that the matter of Cyrenê had been disposed of according to his wishes, crossed over with an army from Egypt into Cyprus against those of the kings who refused to obey him. Finding that Pygmalion was negotiating with Antigonus, he put him to death; and he arrested Praxippus, king of Lapithia and ruler of Cerynia, whom he suspected of

Opus was probably taken, but no statement to the effect survives in our sources. Diodorus returns to Greek affairs in chap. 87.

The summer of 313 a.c.

³ It is quite probable that the name of the ruler of Cerynia has been lost from the MSS. Lapithia and Cerynia are near the middle of the north coast of Cyprus.

² Fischer suspects the loss of a proper name after kal.

νάστην ύποπτεύσας άλλοτρίως έχειν συνέλαβε, καί Στασίοικου του των Μαριέων και την μέν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, τους δ' ενοικούντας μετήγαγεν είς 5 Πάφον. ταθτα δε διαπραξάμενος της μεν Κύπρου κατέστησε στρατηγόν Νικοκρίωτα, παραδούς τάς τε πόλεις και τάς προσόδους των έκπεπτωκότων ε βασιλέων, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκπλείστις έπι Συρίας της άνω καλουμένης Ποσείδιον και Ποταμούς Καρών εκπυλιορκήσας διήρπασεν. έτοίμως δέ πλεύσας έπι Κιλικίας Μάλων είλε και τους έγκαταληφθέντας ελαφυροπώλησεν. επώρθησε δέ και την έγγυς χώραν και το στρατόπεδον εδφελείας 7 έμπλήσας απέπλευσεν είς την Κύπρων. επολιτεύετο δέ πρός τους στρατιώτας ούτως, εκκαλούμενος αὐτῶν τὰς προθυμίας εἰς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους κινδύνους.

80. Δημήτριος δε ό 'Αντιγόνου διέτριβεν αεὶ περὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν, εφεδρεύων ταῖς τῶν Λίγυπτίων δυνάμεσιν. ὡς δ' ήκουσε τὰς τῶν πόλεων ἀλώσεις Πίθωνα μὰν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων κατέλιπς στρατηγόν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαυτας καὶ τὰ βαρέα τῶν ταγμάτων, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβῶν τούς τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τὰ ψιλικὰ τάγματα προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κιλικίας συντόμως, βοηθήσων τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν. ὑστερήσας δὲ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ καταλαβῶν ἀποπεπλευκότας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπαιτῆλθε συντόμως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατό-

1 καὶ Στασίωκον τὸν τῶν Μαριέων Rhudoman, υρ. chap. 62. 6: Στασιοίκου τοῦ Μαλιέως RN, καὶ Στασίωκον τὸν τοῦ Μαλιέως Γ. ² ἐνωκοῦντας Dindorf: οἰκοῦντες.

¹ Stasioccus, king of Marion on the west coast of Cyprus, had first supported Antigonus and then Ptolemy (chap. 62, 6), and now seems to have turned against Ptolemy.

being ill disposed toward himself, and also Stasioccus, stas.c. ruler of Marion, destroying the city and transporting the inhabitants to Paphos. After accomplishing these things, he appointed Nicocron as general of Cyprus, giving him both the cities and the revenues of the kings who had been driven out; but he himself with his army, sailing toward Upper Syria, as it is called, captured and sacked Poseidium and Potami Caron. Sailing without delay to Cilicia, he took Malus and sold as booty those who were captured there. He also plundered the neighbouring territory and, after sating his army with spoil, sailed back to Cyprus. His playing up to the soldiers in this way was designed to evoke enthusiasm in face of the encounters that were approaching.

80. Now Antigonus' son Demetrius was staying on in Coele Syria lying in wait for the Egyptian armies. But when he heard of the capture of the cities, he left Pithon as general in charge of the region, giving him the elephants and the heavy-armed units of the army; and he himself, taking the cavalry and the light-armed units, moved rapidly toward Cilicia to give aid to those who were in danger. Arriving after the opportunity had passed and finding that the enemy had sailed away, he went rapidly

² The text of this sentence is unsutisfactory, and a lacunal is suspected. Puphos is on the south-west coast of Cyprus.

There is a promontory called Poseddium on the coast of Cilicia. No city by the name of Potami Caron (Rivers

of the Carians) is known.

5 Cp. chap. 69.

Nicocreon, king of Salamis on the south coast of Cyprus, had been with Alexander at Tyre in 352/S1 s.c. (Arrian, Inabasis, 2, 23, 2; Plutarch, Alexander, 29, 2). After Alexander's death he supported Ptolemy (chap. 59, 1). For his treachery and death in 310 s.c. ep. Book 20, 21.

πεδου, αποβεβληκώς των ιππων τους πλείους κατά την όδοιπορίαν διέτεινε γάρ έξ ημέραις ἐπί' Μάλου σταθμούς είκοσι και τέσσαρας, ώστε διά την υπερβολήν της κακοπαθίας μήτε σκευυφύρον ακολουθήσαι μηδένα μήτε τους ίπποκόμους.

'Ο δε Πτολεμαίος, κατά νοθι αὐτιο των πραγμάτων άπηντηκότων, τότε μέν άπηρεν είς Αίγυπτου, μετ' όλίγου δε χρόνου παροξυνόμενος ύπο Σελεύκου διά την πρός 'Αντίγονον άλλοτριότητα διέγνω στρατεύειν επί Κοίλην Συρίων και παρα-4 τάττεσθαι τοίς περί τον Δημήτριον. συναγαγών ούν πανταγόθεν τὰς δυνάμεις ανέζευξεν ἀπό 'Αλεξανδρείας είς Πηλούσιου, έχων πεζούς μέν μυρίους όκτακισχιλίους, ίππεις δέ τετρακισχιλίους, ών ήσαν οι μέν Μακεδόνες, οι δε μισθοφόροι, Λίγυπτίων δε πλήθος, το μεν κομίζον βέλη και την άλλην παρασκευήν, το δε καθωπλισμένον και προς μάχην 5 χρήσιμον. από δε Πηλουσίου διά της ερήμου διελθών κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον των πολεμίων περί την παλαιάν Γάζαν της Συρίας. όμοίως δέ καὶ Δημήτριος μεταπεμψάμενος πανταχόθεν τοὺς έκ της χειμασίας στρατιώτας είς την παλαιάν Γάζαν υπέμεινε την των εναντίων εφοδον.

81. Των δε φίλων αυτώ συμβουλευόντων μή παρατάττεσθαι πρός ήγεμόνα τηλικούτον καὶ δύναμιν μείζω, τούτοις μέν ού προσείχεν, είς δέ τόν κίνδυνου παρεσκευάζετο τεθαρρηκώς, καίπερ νέος ών παντελώς και τηλικαύτην μάχην μέλλων άν-

¹ int Geer : and. * naineo Fischer: Nai vao.

¹ Cp, the critical note. The forced march must have been the one from his base in Coele Syria toward Malus in Cilicia. The length of the stage or distance between posting stations

back to his camp, having lost most of his horses anne.c. during the march; for in six days' march towards Malus he covered twenty-four stages, with the result that on account of the excessive hardship not one of his sutlers or of his grooms kept up the pace.

Ptolemy, since his undertakings had turned out 312 m.c. as he wished, now sailed away to Egypt; but after a little while, spurred on by Seleucus because of his hostility toward Antigonus, he decided to make a campaign into Coele Syria and take the field against the army of Demetrius. He therefore gathered together his forces from all sides and marched from Alexandria to Pelusium with eighteen thousand foot and four thousand horse. Of his army some were Macedonians and some were mercenaries, but a great number were Egyptians, of whom some carried the missiles and the other baggage but some were armed and serviceable for battle. Marching through the desert from Pelusium, he camped near the enemy at Old Gaza in Syria." Demetrius, who had likewise summoned his soldiers to Old Gaza from their winter quarters on all sides, awaited the approach of his opponents.

81. Although his friends were urging him not to take the field against so great a general and a superior force, Demetrius paid no heed to them but confidently prepared for the conflict even though he was very young and was about to engage in so great a battle

on the Persian roads was not uniform. If we take 17 miles as an average, the army covered some 400 miles in 6 days, but the distance seems actually to have been very much less.

According to Strabo (16. 2. 30), Alexander had destroyed Gaza; but the city clearly retained its importance at least as a fortress (Arrian, Anabasis, 2, 26-27).

3 The winter of \$13/12 m.c.

2 ωνίζεσθαι χωρίς τοῦ πατρός. συναγαγόντος δ' έν τοίς οπλοις έκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ στάντος ἐπί τινος αναστήματος μετά άγωνίας και διατροπής ό μέν όγλος ἀνεβόησε μιὰ φωνή θαρρείν και πρό τοῦ τὸν κήρυκα καταπαύσαι τους θορυβούντας απαντες σιω-3 πήν παρείχουτο. ούτε γάρ στρατιωτικού εγκλημα ύπηρχε περί αὐτὸν ούτε πολιτικόν, ατε προσφάτως έφ' ήγεμονίας τεταγμένων άπερ εποθε γίγνεσθαι τοις παλαιοίς στρατηγοίς όταν έκ πολλών προφάσεων εν εγκλημα πρός είνα καιρών άθροίζηται το γαρ πλήθος αξί δυσαρεστον ξπί των αυτών μένου καὶ πῶν τὸ μὴ πλεονάζον κεχαρισμένην έχει τὴν μεταβολήν του τε πατρός ήδη γεγηρακότος αι της βασιλείας έλπίδες είς την τούτου διαδυχήν ήγον 4 αμα την άρχην και την των οχλων εύνουαν. ην δέ καὶ τῶ κάλλει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διάφορος, ἔτι δὲ κεκοσμημένος οπλοις βασιλικοίς είχε πολλήν ύπεροχήν και κατάπληξιν, δι' ής είς έλπίδας άδρας ήνε τούς πολλούς πρός δε τούτοις πραότης τις ήν περί αὐτόν, ἀρμόζουσα νέω βαπιλεῖ, δι' της είς προθυμίαν εξεκαλείτο πάντας, ώπτε και τους έκτος τάξεως συνδραμείν έπὶ την ακρόασιν, συναγωνιώντας τη νεότητι καὶ τῆ μελλούση γίνεσθαι κρίσει 5 δια της παρατάξεως. οὐ μόνον γάρ πρός πλείονας ήμελλε διακινδυνεύειν, αλλά και πρός ήγεμόνας σχεδόν μεγίστους, Πτολεμαΐον και Σέλευκον ούτοι γαρ πάντας τους πολέμους 'Αλεξάνδρω συστρατευσάμενοι και πολλάκις καθ' αύτους δυνάμεων

¹ In the late summer of \$11 s.c., when he was sent to Syria, he was 22 years old (chap. 60, 1). For the following 56

BOOK XIX. 81, 1-5

apart from his father.1 When he had called together 312 s.c. an assembly under arms and, anxious and agitated, had taken his position on a raised platform, the erowd shouted with a single voice, bidding him be of good courage; and then, before the herald bade the shouting men cease their tumult, they all became For, because he had just been placed in command, neither soldiers nor civilians had for him any ill will such as usually develops against generals of long standing when at a particular time many minor feritations are combined in a single mass grievance; for the multitude becomes exacting when it remains under the same authority, and every group that is not preferred welcomes change. Since his father was already an old man, the hopes of the kingdom, centring upon his succession, were bringing him the command and at the same time the goodwill of the multitude. Moreover, he was outstanding both in beauty and in stature, and also when clad in royal armour he had great distinction and struck men with awe, whereby he created great expectations in the multitude. Furthermore, there was in him a certain gentleness becoming to a youthful king, which won for him the devotion of all, so that even those outside the ranks ran together to hear him, feeling sympathetic anxiety on account of his youth and the critical struggle that impended. For he was about to fight a decisive battle not only against more numerous forces, but also against generals who were almost the greatest, Ptolemy and Seleucus. Indeed, these generals, who had taken part with Alexander in all his wars and had

battle op. the brief accounts in Justin, 15. 1. 6-9, and Pluturch, Demetrius, 5.

ήγησάμενοι μέχρι τῶν καιρῶν τούτων ὑπῆρχον 6 ἀνίκητοι. ὁ δ' οὖν Δημήτριος παρακαλέσας τὰ πλήθη τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις καὶ δωρεάς τε δώσειν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα συγχωρήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἐξέταξε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν μάχην.

82. 'Επί μέν οθν το λαιον κέρας έταξε, καθ' δ τον κίνδυνον αὐτὸς ήμελλε ποιείσθαι, πρώτους μέν τούς περί αὐτὸν ίππεις ἐπιλέκτους διακοσίους, ἐν οίς ήσαν οι τε άλλοι φίλοι πάντες και Πίθων δ συνεστρατευμένος μέν 'Αλεξάνδρω, συγκαθιστάμενος δε ύπ' 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγός και των όλων 2 μέτοχος. πρόταγμα δέ τρεῖς είλας ίππεων εταξεν καὶ πλαγιοφυλάκους τὰς ἴσας καὶ χωρίς έξω τοῦ κέρατυς απολελυμένας τρείς Γαραντίνων, ώστ' είναι τούς περί τὸ σώμα τεταγμένους ίππεις ξυστοφόρους μέν πεντακοσίους Ταραντίνους δε έκατόν. 3 έξης δ' έταξε των ίππέων τους καλουμένους μέν έταίρους, όντας δέ τον αριθμόν οκτακοσίους, μετά δε τούτους παντοδαπούς ίππεις ούκ ελάττους τῶν χιλίων πεντακοσίων, πρό παντός δὲ τοῦ κέρατος έστησε των ελεφάντων τριάκοντα και τά διαστήματα αὐτῶν ἐπλήρωσε τοῖς ψιλικοῖς τάγμασιν, ων ήσαν άκοντισταί μέν και τοξόται χίλιοι, 4 σφενδονήται δε Πέρσαι πεντακόσιοι. το μέν ούν εθώνυμον κέρας οθτω κατασκευάσας διενοείτο τούτω κρίνειν την μάχην. έχομένην δ' έστησε την των πεζών φάλαγγα, συνεστώσαν έξ άνδρων μυ-

ρίων χιλίων τούτων δε ήσαν Μακεδόνες μεν δισχί-

i érafe editors : éférafe.

repirem Sintenis : repueir, reveir.

often led armies independently, were unconquered \$17.0.c. up to this time. At all events, Demetrius, after encouraging the crowd with words suitable to the occasion and promising to give gifts to them as they were deserved and to yield the booty to the soldiers,

drew up his army for the battle.

82. On the left wing, where he himself was going to take part in the battle, he placed first the two hundred selected horsemen of his guard, among whom were all his other friends and, in particular, Pithon, who had campaigned with Alexander and had been made by Antigonus co-general and partner in the whole undertaking.1 As an advanced guard he drew up three troops of cavalry and the same number as guards on the flank, and in addition to these and stationed separately outside the wing, three troops of Tarentines 2; thus those that were drawn up about his person amounted to five hundred horsemen armed with the lance and one hundred Tarentines. Next he posted those of the cavalry who were called the Companions, eight hundred in number, and after them no less than fifteen hundred horsemen of all kinds. In front of the whole wing he stationed thirty of his elephants, and he filled the intervals between them with units of light-armed men, of whom a thousand were javelin-throwers and archers and five hundred were Persian slingers. In this fashion then be formed the left wing, with which he intended to decide the battle. Next to it he drew up the infantry phalanx composed of eleven thousand men, of whom two thousand were Macedonians,

2 Cp. chap. 69. 1 and note.

^{*} Light cavalry armed with javelins. The origin of the name and the connection, if any, with Tarentum, are unknown. Cp. chap. 29. 2.

λιοι, Λύκιοι δὲ καὶ Παμφύλιοι χίλιοι, μισθοφόροι δ' ὀκτακισχίλιοι. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔταξε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἱππεῖς χιλίους πειτακοσίους, ὧν 'Αν-δρόνικος ἡγεῖτο. τοὐτω δ' ἦν συντεταγμένον λοξὴν ψυλάττειν τὴν στάσιν καὶ φυγομαχεῖν, καραδοκοῦντα τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ γινομένην κρίσιν. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων τρεισκαίδεκα ἔστηπε πρὸ τῆς τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγος, μίξας εἰς τὰ διαστήματα τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς ἱκανούς. Δημήτριος μὲν οὖν διεκόσμησε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

83. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Σέλευκον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔταξαν ἰσχυρὰν τὴν εὐώνυμον τάξιν, ἀγνοοῦντες τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἐπιβολήν μαθώντις δὲ παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τὸ γεγονὸς ταχέως ἐξέταξαν τὴν δύναμιν ὅπως τὸ δεξιὰν κέρας ἰσχὺν ἔχον καὶ δύναμιν τὴν κρατίστην διαγωνίσηται πρὸς τοὺς μετὰ Δημητρίου τεταγμένους ἐν τοῖς εὐωνύμοις μέρεσιν. ἔταξαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος τούτου³ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς κρατίστους τρισχιλίους, ἐν οῖς καὶ 2 αὐτοὶ διεγνώκεισαν ἀγωνίσασθαι. προίταξαν δὲ τῆς στάσεως ταύτης τοὺς κομίζοντας χάρακα σεσιδηρωμένον καὶ δεδεμένον ἀλύσεσιν, ῶν παρεσκευάσαντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἔφοδονταθέντος γὰρ τούτου βάδιον ἢν εἴργειν τὰ θηρία

1 els và Dindorf : els vara. 2 voyvou second hand in R : voû.

As a military term xápaf elsewhere means either a pointed stake to be used in making a paisade or the palisade fiself, and this passage is cited in L.S.J. as an example of the latter meaning. However, here it is certainly a device with upright spikes on which the elephants step (chap. 84). In the defence of Megalopolis, knowing that Polyperchon would send his

BOOK XIX, 82, 4-83, 2

one thousand were Lycians and Pamphylians, and Birke. eight thousand were mercenaries. On the right wing he drew up the rest of his cavalry, fifteen hundred men commanded by Andronicus. This officer was ordered to hold his line back at an angle and avoid fighting, awaiting the outcome of the conflict fought by Demetrius. The thirteen other elephants he stationed in front of the phalanx of the infantry with the normal complement of light troops in the intervals. In this manner, then, Demetrius arrayed his army.

83. Ptolemy and Seleneus at first made strong the left part of their line, not knowing the intention of the enemy; but when they learned from seouts the formation he had adopted, they quickly reformed their army in such a way that their right wing should have the greatest strength and power and be matched against those arrayed with Demetrius on his left. They drew up on this wing the three thousand strongest of their cavalry, along with whom they themselves had decided to fight. In front of this position they placed the men who were to handle the spiked devices I made of iron and connected by chains that they had prepared against the onset of the elephants; for when this contrivance had been stretched out, it was easy to prevent the beasts

elephants through a breach in the wall, Damis (who had served with Alexander and knew the nature of the elephant) studded many frames with sharp nails and, after placing them with their points upwards in the way the elephants would necessarily follow, covered them with loose earth (Book 18, 71, 2-6). In the present battle, since the point of attack would not be known long in advance, a portable device was needed. Perhaps we should think of planks with spikes driven through them, connected by chains. Kromayer, referring to our passages, speaks of "Fuszangeln," i.e. caltrops or crowfeet (Kromayer and Veith, Heerwesen u. Kriegsführung, 141).

3 της είς τουμπροσθεν πορείας. προέταξαν δε του κέρατος τούτου καὶ τὰ ψιλικὰ τάγματα, παραγγείλαντες τοῦς τε ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ τοξόταις συνεχῶς κατατιτρώσκειν τὰ θηρία καὶ τοὺς ἐπὰ αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβηκότας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον όχυρωσάμενοι τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐκτάξαντες ἐνδεχομένως ἐπῆγον τοῦς πολεμίοις

μετά πολλής κραυγής. 'Αντεπαγόντων δέ και των έναντίων το μέν πρώτον επ' άκρων των κεράτων Ιππομαχία συνέστη των προτεταγμένων ίππέων, έν οίς πολύ προ-4 ετέρουν οι περί τον Δημήτριον. μετ' ολίγον δε τών περί Πτολεμαΐου και Σελευκον περιιππευσώντων το κέρας και βιαιότερον επενεχθέντων ορθίαις ταίς είλαις συνέστη καρτερά μάχη διά τὰς έκατέρων 5 προθυμίας. κατά μεν ούν την πρώτην εφοδον τοίς Ευστοίς άγωνισάμενοι τούτων τε τὰ πλείστα συνέτριψαν και των αγωνιζομένων ούκ ύλίγους κατετραυμάτισαν κατά δε την δευτέραν άναστροφην είς την από του ξίφους μάχην διρμησαν καί συμπλεκόμενοι πολλούς άλλήλων άνήρουν, οι τε ηνεμόνες αὐτοί προ πάντων κινδυνεύοντες προετρέποντο τους υποτεταγμένους ευρώστως υπομένειν το δεινόν, οι τ' έπι των κεράτων ίππεις, απαντες επιλελεγμένοι κατ' αρετήν, ήμιλλωντο πρός άλλήλους, θεατάς έχοντες της άνδρείας τους συναγωνιζομένους στρατηγούς.

84. 'Επί πολύν δε χρόνον της ίππομαχίας υύσης εφαμίλλου τὰ θηρία διὰ τῶν 'Ινδῶν εἰς τὰν ἀγῶνα παρορμηθέντα μέχρι μέν τινος προηγεν κιταπληκτικῶς, ὡς οὐδενὸς ὑποστησομένου ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν

¹ ορθίαις Kromayer (ep. Suidas v.r. ορθία): ορθαίς.

from moving forward. In front of this wing they 312 R.c. also stationed their light-armed units, ordering the javelin-men and archers to shoot without ceasing at the elephants and at those who were mounted upon them." When they had made their right wing strong in this manner and had drawn up the rest of their army as circumstances permitted, they advanced upon

the enemy with a great shout.

Their opponents also advanced; and first there was a cavalry action on the extreme wings between the troops of the advance guards in which the men of Demetrius had much the better of it. But after a little, when Ptolemy and Seleucus had ridden around the wing and charged upon them more heavily with cavalry drawn up in depth, there was severe fighting because of the zeal of both sides. In the first charge, indeed, the fighting was with spears, most of which were shattered, and many of the antagonists were wounded; then, rallying again, the men rushed into battle at sword's point, and, as they were locked in close combat, many were slain on each side. The very commanders, endangering themselves in front of all, encouraged those under their command to withstand the danger stoutly; and the horsemen upon the wings, all of whom had been selected for bravery, vied with each other since as witnesses of their valour they had their generals, who were sharing the struggle with them.

84. After the cavalry battle had continued for a long time on equal terms, the elephants, urged on into the combat by their Indian mahouts, advanced for a certain distance in a way to inspire terror, just as if no one were going to withstand them. When,

^a ἐπιστροφήν editors except Fischer.

σεσιδηρωμένον χάρακα κατήντησε, τὰ μὲν πλήθος

των ακοντιστών και τοξοτών συνεχώς βαλλόντων κατετίτρωσκε τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ τοὺς 2 επ' αὐτοις ἀναβεβηκότας βιαζομένων δε τῶν Ίνδων και κολαζόντων τὰ θηρία τινὰ μέν αὐτών περιεπείρουτο τῷ φιλοτεχνηθέντι χάρακι, καὶ ταῖς πληγαίς και πυκνότησι των τιτρωσκύντων περιώ-3 δυνα γινόμενα εποίει θόρυβον. το γάρ γένος τουτο κατά μέν τοὺς όμαλοὺς καὶ μαλακοὺς τόπους άνυπόστατον παρέχεται κατά στύμα την βώμην, έν δέ τοις τραχέσι και δυσβάτοις τελέως απρακτον έχει ι την άλκην διά την των ποδών μαλακότητα. διά καί τότε, των περί Πτολεμαίον συνετώς προεωραμένων το μέλλον έκ του χάρακος της πήξεως, απρακτον εποίει την βίαν αὐτῶν. τέλος δὲ τῶν πλείστων Ινδών κατακοντισθέντων υποχειρίους συνέβη γενέ-5 σθαι πάντας τους ελέφαντας. οδ τελεσθέντος οί πολλοί των περί του Δημήτριου ίππέων καταπλαγέντες πρός φυγήν ώρμησαν αὐτός δὲ μετ' όλίγων άπολειφθείς και δεόμενος έκάστου στήναι και μή καταλιπείν αὐτόν, ώς οὐδείς προσείχε, συναποχω-6 ρείν ήναγκάζετο. μέχρι μέν ούν Γάζης οι πολλοί των ίππέων συνακολουθούντες ύπήκουον και κατέστησαν είς τάξεις, ώστε μηδένα ραδίως τολμάν προσάγειν των είκη διωκόντων το γάρ πεδίον εύρύχωρον ον και μαλακόν συνήργει τοις βουλομένοις 7 εν τάξει ποιείσθαι την αποχώρησιν. συνείποντο δε καὶ πεζών οι βουληθέντες λιπείν τὰς τάξεις καὶ For της πήξεως Fischer in his apparatus suggests ή

mipwass.

2 Cn. Book 18, 71, 6; where wheel is clearly used of the

² Cp. Book 18, 71, 6, where πληγή is clearly used of the wounds caused by the spikes.

however, they came up to the barrier of spikes, the siz me. host of javelin-throwers and archers, who were sending their missiles unremittingly, began to wound severely the elephants themselves and those who were mounted upon them; and while the mahouts were foreing the beasts forward and were using their goads, some of the elephants were pierced by the eleverly devised spikes and, tormented by their wounds and by the concentrated efforts of the attackers, began to cause disorder. For on smooth and yielding ground these beasts display in direct onset a might that is irresistible, but on terrain that is rough and difficult their strength is completely uscless because of the tenderness of their feet. Thus, too, on this occasion, since Ptolemy shrewdly foresaw what would result from the setting up of the spikes, he rendered the power of the elephants unavailing.* The final outcome was that, after most of the mahouts had been shot down, all the elephants were captured. When this happened, most of Demetrius' horsemen were panie-stricken and rushed into flight; and he himself was left with a few and then, since no one heeded him when he begged them each to stand and not desert him, was forced to leave the field with the rest. Now as far as Gaza most of the cavalry who were following with him listened to orders and remained in formation, so that no one of those who were pursuing at random lightly risked attacking; for the plain was open and yielding, and favourable to men who wished to withdraw in formation. There followed also those of the infantry who preferred to

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² Or, reading ή πήρωσις: "Thus on this occasion also, as Ptolemy shrewdly foresaw would happen, the wounds caused by the spikes rendered, etc."

χωρίς τῶν ὅπλων διασώζειν ἐαυτοὺς ἐλαφρούς.
παραλλάσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Γάζαν περὶ ἡλίου δύσιν ἀπολιπόντες τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν 8 πόλιν, ἐκκομίσαι βουλόμενοι τὰς ἀποσκευάς. ἀνοιχθεισῶν οὖν τῶν πυλῶν καὶ πλήθους ὑποζυγίων ἀθροιαθέντος, ἔτι δ' ἐκάστου πρώτου σπεύδοντος ἐξαγαγεῖν τὰ σκευοφόρα τοσοῦτον θύρυβον γενέαθαι συνέβη περὶ τὰς πύλας ὥστε τῶν περὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιόντων μηδένα δύνασθαι φθάσαι συγκλείσαντα. διόπερ εἰσπεσόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἡ πόλις ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο τοῖς περὶ Πτολε-

μαΐον.

85. Τῆς δὲ μάχης τοιοῦτο τὸ τέλος λαβούσης Δημήτριος μεν διέτεινεν είς "Αζωτον περί μέσας νύκτας, διελθών σταδίους έβδομήκοντα και διακοσίους. Εντεύθεν δε κήρυκα περί της των νεκρών άναιρέσεως εξέπεμψεν, σπεύδων έκ παντός τρόπου της επιβαλλούσης κηδείας άξιώσαι τους τε-2 τελευτηκότας ετύγχανον γάρ οἱ πλεῖστοι των φίλων πεπτωκότες, ών ήσαν επιφανέστατοι Πίθων τε ό μετέχων της στρατηγίας ἐπ' ἴσης αὐτῷ καὶ Βοιωτός πολύν χρόνον συνεζηκώς 'Αντιγόνω τω 3 πατρί και μετεσχηκώς παντός απορρήτου κατά δέ την παράταξιν επεσον μεν πλείους των πεντακοσίων, ων ήσαν οι πλείους ίππεις των επιφανών άνδρών, εάλωσαν δ' ύπερ οκτακισχιλίους. οί δε περί Πτολεμαΐον και Σέλευκον δόντες την αναίρεσιν των νεκρών τήν τε άλοῦσαν βασιλικήν ἀποσκευήν καὶ των αίχμαλώτων τους περί την αυλήν είωθότας διατρίβειν χωρίς λύτρων απέστειλαν πρός Δημήτριον. 66

BOOK XIX. 84. 7-85. 3

leave their lines and, abandoning their heavy arms, are a save themselves by travelling light. But as Demetrius was passing Gaza at about sunset, some of the eavalry dropped out and entered the city since they wished to early away their baggage. Then, when the gates were opened and a large number of pack animals were gathered together and when each man tried to lead out his own beasts first, there arose such confusion around the gates that when the troops of Ptolemy came up no one was able to close the gates in time. Hence the enemy dashed within the walls, and the city came into the possession of

Ptolemy.

85. After the battle had ended in this fashion, Demetrius reached Azotus about the middle of the night, covering two hundred and seventy stades. Thence he sent a herald about the burial of the dead since he was very anxious at any cost to honour those who had perished with the funeral that was their due; for it happened that most of his friends had fallen, the most distinguished of whom were Pithon, who had shared the command on equal terms with himself, and Bocotus, who for a long time had lived with his father Antigonus and had shared in all his state secrets. In the battle there had fallen more than five hundred men,2 the majority of whom were cavalry and men of distinction; and more than eight thousand had been captured. Ptolemy and Scleucus permitted the recovery of the dead, and they returned to Demetrius without ransom the royal baggage, which had been captured, and those of the prisoners who had been accustomed to be in attendance at the

⁴ About 31 miles.

^{*} Plutarch, Danetrius, 5. 2, says that 5000 men were slain.

ου γάρ περί τούτων έφασαν διαφέρεσθαι πρός 'Αντίγονον, αλλ' ότι του πολέμου γενομένου κοινοῦ πρότερον μέν πρός Περδίκκαν, υστερον δέ πρός Εύμενη τὰ μέρη της δορικτήτου χώρας οὐκ ἀποδοίη τοις φίλοις και συνθέμενος φιλίαν πρός αυτόν τουναντίον άφελοιτο την σατραπείαν της Βαβυλωνίας 4 Σελεύκου παρά πάντα τὰ δίκαια. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαίος τους μέν άλόντας στρατιώτας αποστείλας είς Λίγυπτον προσέταξεν έπὶ τὰς νυμαρχίας διελείν, αὐτός δέ θάψας των ίδίων τούς έν τη μάχη τελευτήσαντας απαντας μεγαλοπρεπώς μετά της δυνάμεως επήει των κατά Φοινύκην πόλεων τὰς μέν πολιορκών, τὰς 5 δέ πειθοί προσαγόμενος. Δημήτριος δέ δύναμιν ούκ έχων αξιόχρεων πρός μέν τον πατέρα βυβλιαφόρον απέστειλεν, αξιών βοηθεων την ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δέ παρελθών εἰς Τρίπολιν τῆς Φοινίκης μετεπέμπετό τε τους έκ Κιλικίας στρατιώτας και των άλλων όσοι παρεφύλαττον η πόλεις η φρούρια μακράν άφεστώτα τών πολεμίων.

86. Πτολεμαίος δὲ κρατῶν τῶν ὑπαίθρων Σιδῶνα μὲν προσηγάγετο, τῆς δὲ Γύρου πλησίον
στρατοπεδεύσας παρεκάλεσεν ᾿Λνδρόνικον τὸν
φρούραρχον παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ δωρεάς τε
2 καὶ τιμὰς άδρὰς ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι. ὁ δὲ ψήσας
μηδενὶ τρύπω προδώσειν τὴν δεδομένην ὑπ' ᾿Λντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου πίστιν, ἐλοιδόρησε φορτικῶς
τὸν Πτολεμαίον. ὕστερον δὲ στασιασάντων τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Τύρου καὶ γενόμενος ὑποχείριος προσεδόκα μὲν τιμωρίας τεύξεσθαι διά τε

φιλίαν Hertlein ε πάλιν.
* νομαρχίας Wesseling: ναυαρχίας.

court; for, they said, it was not about these that sie no. they were at variance with Antigonus but because, although he and they had made war in common, first against Perdiceas and later against Eumenes, he had not turned over to his companions their share of the captured territory, and again because, after making a compact of friendship with Seleucus, he had nevertheless taken away from him his satrapy of Babylonia contrary to all right. Ptolemy sent the captured soldiers off into Egypt, ordering them to be distributed among the nomes; but he himself, after giving a magnificent burial to all those of his own men who had died in the battle, went with his forces against the cities of Phoenicia, besieging some of them and winning others by persuasion. But Demetrius, since he did not have a sufficiently strong army, sent a messenger to his father, asking him to aid him as quickly as possible. He himself, moving to Tripolis in Phoenicia, summoned the soldiers from Cilicia and also those of his other men who were guarding cities or strongholds far removed from the enemy.

86. Ptolemy, after he had gained control of the open country, first won Sidon to his side; and then, camping near Tyre, he summoned Andronicus, the commander of the garrison, to surrender the city, and he promised to give him gifts and abundant honours. Andronicus, however, said that he would in no wise betray the trust that had been placed in him by Antigonus and Demetrius, and he vilely insulted Ptolemy. Later, when his soldiers mutinied and he was expelled from the city and fell into the hands of Ptolemy, he expected to receive punishment both

¹ Cp. chap. 69. 1.

την γενομένην λοιδορίαν και διά το μη βεβουλησθαι την Τύρον παραδούναι οὐ μήν ο γε Πτολεμαίος εμνησικάκησεν, άλλα τουναντίον δούς δωρεάς είχε περί αύτον, ένα των φίλων ποιησάμενος καὶ προ-3 άγων εντίμως. ήν γάρ ο δυνάστης ούτος καθ' ύπερβολήν επιεικής και συγγασιμονικός, έτι δ' εθεργετικός. όπερ καὶ μάλιστ' αθτόν ηύξησε καὶ 4 πολλούς εποίησεν επιθυμείν κοινωνήσοι της φιλίας. καί γάρ του Σέλευκου έκ της Βαβυλωνίας έκπεσόντα φιλοτίμως υπεδέξατο και κοινήν παρείγετο τούτω τε και τοις άλλοις φίλοις την περί αυτον 5 εὐδαιμονίαν. διό καὶ τότε παρακαλούντος αὐτόν Σελεύκου δούναι στρατιώτας τούς αναβησομένους είς Βαβυλώνα προθύμως ώμυλόγησε και προσεπηγγείλατο πάντα συμπράξειν μέχρι ανακτήσαιτο την προϋπάρχουσαν σατραπείαν.

Καὶ τὰ μέν κατὰ τὴν 'Λοίαν ἐν τούτοις ἡν.

87. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Τελεσφόρος μὲν δ ᾿Αντιγόνου ναύαρχος διατρίβων περὶ Κόρινθον, ἐπειδὴ Πτολεμαΐον έώρα μᾶλλον ἐαυτοῦ προαγόμενον καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πραγμάτων πιστευόμενον ἀπάντων, ἐγκαλέσας ᾿Αντιγόνω περὶ τούτων τὰς μὲν ναῦς ὡς εἶχεν ἀπέδοτο, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς βουλομένους κοινωνεῖν τῆς προ-² αιρέσεως ἀναλαβὼν ιδια πράγματα συνίστατο. παρελθὼν γὰρ εἰς Ἦλιν ὡς ἔτι φυλάττων τὴν πρὸς ᾿Αντίγονον φιλίαν, τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνετείχισε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεδουλώσατο. ἐσύλησεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ολυμπίαν καὶ συναγαγὼν ἀργυρίου πλείω τῶν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ξένους ² ἐμισθοῦτο. Τελεσφόρος μὲν οὖν ζηλοτυπήσας τὴν

for the insults and for his unwillingness to surrender strac. Tyre. But in truth Ptolemy bore no malice; on the contrary, he gave him gifts and kept him in his court, making him one of his friends and advancing him in honour. For indeed, that prince was exceptionally gentle and forgiving and inclined toward deeds of kindness. It was this very thing that most increased his power and made many men desire to share his friendship.1 For example, when Seleneus had been driven from Babylonia, he received him with friendship 2; and he used to share his own prosperity with him and with his other friends. Therefore on this occasion also, when Seleucus asked him to give him soldiers for an expedition into Babylonia, he readily consented; and in addition, he promised to aid him in every way until he should regain the satrapy that had formerly been his.

Such was the situation of affairs in Asia.3

87. In Europe, Antigonus' admiral Telesphorus, who was tarrying near Corinth, when he saw Ptolemaeus preferred to himself and entrusted with all affairs throughout Greece, charged Antigonus with this, sold what ships he had, enlisted such of the soldiers as volunteered to join his cause, and organized an enterprise of his own. Entering Elis as if still preserving his friendship for Antigonus, he fortified the citadel and enslaved the city. He even plundered the sacred precinct at Olympia and, after collecting more than five hundred talents of silver, began hiring mercenaries. In this manner then, Telesphorus,

¹ Cp. Book 18, 28, 5-6. ² Cp. chap. 55, 5.

Continued in chap. 90. 1.
Continued from chap. 78. Telesphorus was probably a nephew of Antigonus (chap. 74. 1), and Ptolemaeus certainly was (chap. 68. 5).

προαγωγήν Πτολεμαίου τοῦτον τον τρόπον εγένετο προδότης τῆς πρὸς 'Αντίγονον φιλίας. Πτολεμαΐος δ' ό 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγὸς ῆν μεν τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆν 'Ελλάδα πραγμάτων, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν Τελεσφόρου καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς 'Ηλείων πόλεως, ἔτι δὲ τὴν σύλησιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ολυμπίαν χρημάτων παρῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον μετὰ δυνάμεως. καταντήσας δ' εἰς 'Πλιν καὶ τὴν ἐντετειχισμένην ἀκρόπολιν κατασκάψας τήν το ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς 'Πλείοις καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποκατέστησεν τῷ θεῷ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Τελεσφόρον πείσας παρέλαβεν τὴν Κυλλήνην, φρουρουμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς 'Πλείοις ἀποκατέστησεν.

88. "Λμα δὲ τούτοις πρασσομένοις 'Ππειρῶται τελευτήσαντος Αλακίδου του βασιλέως αὐτών 'Αλκέτα την βασιλείαν παρέδωκαν, δς ην πεφυγαδευμένος μεν ύπο 'Αρύμβου' τοῦ πατρός, άλλοτρίως δὲ 2 διακείμενος πρός Κάσανδρου. διό καὶ Λυκίσκος ό τεταγμένος έπὶ τῆς 'Ακαρνανίας στρατηγός ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου παρήλθε μετά δυνάμεως είς την "Ππειρου, ελπίδας έχων ραδίως του 'Αλκέταν άποστήσειν της άρχης ασυντάκτων έτι των κατά την βασιλείαν καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Κασσωπίαν πόλιν 'Αλκέτας τους μεν υίους 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ Τευκρον ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις. διακελευσάμενος στρατολογείν ώς πλείστους, αὐτός δὲ μεθ' ής είχε δυνάμεως ἀναζούξας, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον έγένετο των πολεμίων, ανέμενε την των υίων 72

because he was jealous of the advancement of Pto-size. lemaeus, betrayed the friendship of Antigonus. Ptolemaeus, the general of Antigonus, had been placed in charge of affairs throughout Greece; and he, out hearing of the revolt of Telesphorus, the capture of the city of the Eleans, and the plundering of the wealth of Olympia, moved into the Peloponnesus with an army. When he had come into Elis and levelled the citadel that had been fortified, he gave the Eleans back their freedom and restored the treasure to the god. Then by winning Telesphorus' consent he recovered Cyllenê, which the latter had garrisoned, and restored it to the Eleans.

88. While this was happening, the Epirotes, their king Acacides being dead, gave the kingship to Alcetas, who had been banished by his father Arymbus and who was hostile to Cassander. For this reason, Lyciscus, who had been placed as general over Acamania by Cassander, entered Epirus with an army, hoping to remove Alcetas casily from his throne while the affairs of the kingdom were still in disorder. While Lyciscus was in camp before Cassopia, Alcetas sent his sons Alexander and Teucer to the cities, ordering them to levy as many soldiers as possible; and he himself, taking the field with what force he had, came near the enemy and awaited the return of his sons. However, since

Alcetas, an older brother of Acaddes, had been banished because of his unbridled passions (Pausanias, 1, 11, 5).

Lyciseus was placed in command of Epirus by Cassander in 316 s.c. (chap. 36.5), and of Acarnama in 314 s.c. (chap. 67.5); but in 318 s.c. he seems to have been replaced for a time by Philip (chap. 74. 3).

^{1 &#}x27;Αρύμβου l'almer : 'Αρρυβίλου RX, 'Αριβήλου F.

4 παρουσίαν. τῶν δὲ περὶ Λυκίσκον ἐπικειμένων καὶ πολύ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπερεχόντων οἱ μὰν Ἡπειρῶται καταπλαγέντες προσεχώρησαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὁ δ' ᾿Αλκέτας καταλειφθεὶς κατέφυγεν εἰς Εὐρυμενὰς

5 πόλιν 'Ηπειρωτικήν. ενταῦθα δ' αὐτοῦ πολιορκουμένου παρεγενήθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν 'Λλέξανδρον βοήθειαν φέροντες τῷ πατρί. γενομένης οὖν μάχης
ἰσχυρᾶς ἀνηρέθησαν πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐν οἷς
ἦσαν ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν' ἀνδρῶν καὶ Μίκυθος ὁ
στρατηγὸς καὶ Λύσανδρος 'Λθηναῖος ὁ κατασταθεὶς

8 ἐπὶ τῆς Λευκάδος ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δεινίου βοηθήσαντος τοῦς ἐλαττουμένοις ἐγένετο δευτέρα μάχη, καθ' ῆν οἱ μὲν περὶ 'Λλέξανδρον καὶ Τεῦκρον ἡττηθέντες ἔφυγον εῖς τι χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, ὁ δὲ Λυκίσκος Εὐρυμενὰς ἐκ-

πολιορκήσας καὶ διαρπάσας κατέσκαψε.

89. Καθ' δν δή χρόνον Κάσανδρος ἀκηκοὼς μὲν τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ήτταν, ἀγνοῶν δὲ τὸ μετὰ ταθτα γεγονὸς εὐτύχημα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἡκεν εἰς τὴν Ἡπειρον βοηθήσων τοῖς περὶ Λυκίσκον. καταλαβών δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος γεγονότας πρὸς μὲν 'Λλκέταν διαλυσάμενος φιλίαν συνέθετο, τῆς δὲ δυνάμεως μέρος ἀναλαβών ἀνέζευξεν εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν πολιορκήσων 'Απολλωνιάτας, ὅτι τὴν ψρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ προσέθεντο τοῖς 'Ιλλυνοῖς οὐ κὴς κατεπλέρησον

2 λυριοῖς. οὐ μὴν οἴ γε ἐν τῆ πόλει κατεπλάγησαν, ἀλλὰ βοήθειαν μεταπεμψάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν παρετάξαντο. γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον οἱ μὲν ᾿Απολλωνιᾶται τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπερέχοντες τοὺς

¹ Fischer adds afrodoyww after των, cp. chap. 47. 4.

BOOK XIX, 88, 3-89, 2

the forces of Lyeiseus were at hand and were far sizme. superior in number, the Epirotes were frightened and went over to the enemy 1; and Alcetas, deserted, fled for refuge to Eurymenac, a city of Epirus. While he was being besieged there, Alexander came up bringing reinforcements to his father. A violent hattle took place in which many of the soldiers were slain, among whom were certain others of the followers of Lyciscus and in particular the general Micythus and Lysander, an Athenian who had been put in charge of Leneas by Cassander. But afterwards, when Deinias brought reinforcements to the defeated army, there was another battle, in which Alexander and Toucer were defeated and fled with their father to a certain stronghold, while Lyciscus took Eurymenae, plundered it, and destroyed it.

89. At this time Cassander, who had heard of the defeat of his forces but did not know of the victory that had followed, moved into lipirus in haste to assist Lyciscus. On finding that the latter had gained the upper hand, he made terms and established friendship with Alcetas; and then, taking a part of his army, he moved to the Adriatic to lay siege to Apollonia because the people of that city had driven out his garrison and gone over to the Illyrians. Those in the city, however, were not frightened, but summoned aid from their other allies and drew up their army before the walls. In a battle, which was hard fought and long, the people of Apollonia, who were superior in number, forced their opponents

Deinias, a general of Cassander, had taken Tempê in

317 s.c. (chap. 35, S).

According to Pausanias (1. 11. 5), Alectas so angered the Epirotes by his cruelty that, immediately after his return, they rose against him and slew him.

αντιτεταγμένους φυγείν ήναγκασαν, ό δὲ Κάσανδρος πολλούς στρατιώτας ἀποβαλών καὶ δύναμιν μὲν οὐκ ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιόχρεω τὴν δὲ χειμερινὴν ὥραν 3 θεωρῶν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν. τούτου δὲ χωρισθέντος Λευκάδιοι προσλαβόμενοι βοήθειαν παρὰ Κορκυραίων ἐξέβαλον τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ Κασάνδρου. οἱ δ' Ἡπειρῶται χρόνον μέν τινα διέμενον ὑπ' ᾿Αλκέτου βασιλευόμενοι, χρωμένου δ' αὐτοῦ χαλεπώτερον τοῖς πλήθεσιν αὐτόν τε κατέσφαξαν καὶ δύο τῶν υίῶν παΐδας ὅντας τὴν

ηλικίαν 'Πσιονέα και Νίσον.

90. Κατά δὲ τὴν 'Ασίαν Σέλευκος μετά τὴν γενομένην ήτταν Δημητρίω περί Γάζαν της Συρίας αναλαβών παρά Πτολεμαίου πεζούς μέν ού πλείους των δκτακοσίων ίππεις δε περί διακοσίους άνέζευξεν έπὶ Βαβυλώνος, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μεμετεωρισμένος ταις έλπίσιν ωστ' εί και μηδεμίαν είχε δύναμιν τό παράπαν, μετά των φίλων και των ιδίων παίδων την είς τους άνω τόπους ανάβασιν ποιείσθαι ύπελάμβανε γάρ τους μέν Βαβυλωνίους διά την προυπάργουσαν εύνοιαν έτοίμως αὐτώ προοθήσεσθαι, τους δέ περι 'Αντίγονον μετά της δυνάμεως μακράν απεσπασμένους παραδεδωκέναι καιρόν οἰκεῖον ταῖς 2 ίδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς. τοιαύτης δ' ούσης τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν όρμης οί συνόντες φίλοι θεωρούντες ότι μετ' αυτών μέν είσι παντελώς ολίγοι συστρατεύοντες, τοις δέ πολεμίοις εφ' ους προάγουσι και δυνάμεις υπάρχουσιν έτοιμοι μεγάλαι καὶ χορηγίαι λαμπραὶ καὶ 3 συμμάχων πλήθος, οὐ μετρίως ήθύμουν. οΰς όρῶν καταπεπληγμένους ὁ Σέλευκος παρεκάλει, διδάσ-

BOOK XIX, 89, 2-90, 3

to fice; and Cassander, who had lost many soldiers, 112 A... since he did not have an adequate army with him and saw that the winter was at hand, returned into Macedonia. After his departure, the Leucadians, receiving help from the Coreyracans, drove out Cassander's garrison. For some time the Epirotes continued to be ruled by Alcetas; but then, since he was treating the common people too harshly, they murdered him and two of his sons, Esioneus and

Nisus, who were children.*

90. In Asia,2 after the defeat of Demetrius at Gaza in Syria, Scleucus, receiving from Ptolemy no more than eight hundred foot soldiers and about two hundred horse, set out for Babylon. He was so puffed up with great expectations that, even if he had had no army whatever, he would have made the expedition into the interior with his friends and his own slaves; for he assumed that the Babylonians, on account of the goodwill that had previously existed, would promptly join him, and that Antigonus, by withdrawing to a great distance with his army, had given him a suitable opportunity for his own enterprises. While such was his own enthusiasm, those of his friends who accompanied him were no little disheartened when they saw that the men who were making the campaign with them were very few and that the enemy against whom they were going possessed large armies ready for service, magnificent resources, and a host of allies. When Seleueus saw that they were terror-stricken, he encouraged

1 The winter of 312/11 s.c.

* Continued from chap. 86. 5.

But compare the note on chap. 88. 4. The narrative is continued in chap. 105.

Applan, Syrian Wars, 9, 54, says 1000 foot and 300 horse.

κων ότι τους 'Αλεξάνδρω συνεστρατευκότας και δι' άρετην ύπ' εκείνου προηγμένους προσήκει μη πάντως δυνάμει καὶ χρήμασι πεπριθότας ἀντέχεσθαι πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' εμπειρία καὶ συνέσει, δι' ών κάκεῖνος τὰ μεγάλα καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι θαυμαζόμενα κατειργάσατο. πιατεύειν δε δείν και ταις των θεών προρρήσεσι το τέλος έσεσθαι της στρατείας 4 άξιον της επιβολής έν μεν γάρ Βραγχίδαις αὐτοῦ γρηστηριαζομένου τον θεον προσαγορεύσαι Σέλευκον βασιλέα, τον δε 'Αλέξανδρον καθ' υπνον έπιστάντα φανερώς διασημάναι περί της έσομένης ήγεμονίας, ής δεί τυχείν αὐτον προϊάντος του χρά-5 νου. πρώς δε τυύτοις απεφαίνετο διότι πάντα γίνεται τὰ καλά καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις θαυμαζόμενα διά πόνων και κινδύνων. Επολιτεύετο δε και πρός τούς συστρατεύοντας καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν αύτον ίσον απασιν, ωσθ' εκαστον αίδεισθαι καὶ τὸ παράβολον της τόλμης έκουσίως ύπομένειν.

91. Έπεὶ δὲ προάγων κατήντησεν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, τῶν ἐν Κάραις κατωκισμένων Μακεδόνων οῦς μὲν ἔπεισεν, οῦς δ' ἐβιάσατο συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ. ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐνέβαλεν, οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀπήντων καὶ προστιθέμενοι τῶν ἔφασαν αὐτῷ τὸ δοκοῦν συμπράξειν τετραετῆ γὰρ χρόνον γεγονὼς σατράπης τῆς χώρας ταύτης πᾶσι προσενήνεκτο καλῶς, ἐκκαλούμενος τὴν εὔνοιαν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ πόρρωθεν προπαρασκευαζόμενος τοὺς συμπράξοντας, ἐὰν αὐτῷ δοθῆ καιρὸς

¹ Cp. also chap. 55. 7, where we are told that the astrologers warned Antigonus to expect danger from Sciences. Other signs and omens of Sciences' future greatness are given by Appian, Syrian Wars, 9. 56.

them, saying that men who had campaigned with 312 a.c. Alexander and had been advanced by him because of their prowess ought not to rely solely on armed force and wealth when confronting difficult situations, but upon experience and skill, the means whereby Alexander himself had accomplished his great and universally admired deeds. He added that they ought also to believe the orneles of the gods which had foretold that the end of his campaign would be worthy of his purpose; for, when he had consulted the oracle in Branchidae, the god had greeted him as King Seleucus, and Alexander standing beside him in a dream had given him a clear sign of the future leadership that was destined to fall to him in the course of time.1 Moreover, he pointed out that everything that is good and admired among men is gained through toil and danger. But he also sought the favour of his fellow soldiers and put himself on an equality with them all in such a way that each man respected him and willingly accepted the risk of the daring venture.

91. When in his advance he entered Mesopotamia, he persuaded some of the Macedonians who were settled at Carae 2 to join his forces, and compelled the rest. When he pushed into Babylonia, most of the inhabitants came to meet him, and, declaring themselves on his side, promised to aid him as he saw fit; for, when he had been for four years satrap of that country, he had shown himself generous to all, winning the goodwill of the common people and long in advance securing men who would assist him if an opportunity should ever be given him to make

Probably the same as Carrhae, and not to be identified with the Carag of Book 17, 110, 3; 19, 12, 1.

8 αμφισβητείν ήγεμονίας. προσεχώρησε δ' αὐτῷ καί Πολύαρχος, τεταγμένος έπί τινος διοικήσεως, μετά στρατιωτίον πλειόνων η χιλίων, οι δε διαφυλάττουτες την πρός 'Αντίγονου φιλίαν, όρωντες ακατάσχετου ούσαν την του πλήθους όρμην, συνέφευγον είς την άκραν, ής φύλαξ απεδέδεικτο 1 Δίφιλος. ό δε Σέλευκος συστησώμενος πολιορκίαν και κατά κράτος έλων την άκραν έκομίσατο τά φυλαττόμενα σώματα των φίλων και των παίδων, οσοι παρεδόθησαν είς φυλακήν παρ' 'Αντιγόνου μετά την έκ Βαβυλώνος είς Λίγυπτον αποχώρησαν. 5 από δε τούτων γενόμενως στρατιώτας συνήγαγεν καί συναγοράσας ίππους ανεδίδου τοις δυναμένοις χρασθαι. πασι δε φιλανθρώπως όμιλου και καθιστάς είς άγαθάς έλπίδας έτσίμους είχε και προθύμους εν πάση περιστάσει τούς συγκινδυνεύοντας. Σέλευκος μεν ούν τούτον τον τρόπου ανεκτήσατο την Βαβυλωνίαν.

92. Νικάνορος δὲ τοῦ περὶ Μηδίαν στρατηγοῦ συναγαγόντος ἐπ αὐτὸν ἔκ τε Μηδίας καὶ Περαίδος καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων ἰππεῖς δὲ περὶ ἐπτακισχιλίους ὥρμησεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπαντήσων τοῖς πολεμίοις.

2 είχε δε τούς σύμπαντας πεζούς μεν πλείους των τρισχιλίων, ίππεις δε τετρακοσίους. διαβάς δε τον Γίγριν ποταμόν και πυνθανόμενος ολίγων ήμερων όδον ἀπέχειν τούς πολεμίους, εκρυψε τούς στρατιώτας εν τοις πλησίον έλεσι, διανοούμενος 3 ἀπροσδόκητον ποιήσασθαι την ἐπίθεσιν. ὁ δὲ

3 άπροσδόκητον ποιήσασθαι την επισεσίν. Ο σε Νικάνωρ επειδή παραγενηθείς επί τον Τίγριν ποταμόν ούχ ηὔρισκε τοὺς πολεμίους, κατευτρατοπέδευσε πρός τινι βασιλικῷ σταθμῷ, νομίζων αὐτοὺς

a bid for supreme power. He was joined also by sienc. Polyarchus, who had been placed in command of a certain district, with more than a thousand soldiers. When those who remained loyal to Antigonus saw that the impulse of the people could not be checked, they took refuge together in the citadel, of which Diphilus had been appointed commander. But Scleueus, by laying siege to the citadel and taking it by storm, recovered the persons of all those of his friends and slaves who had been placed there under guard by the order of Antigonus after Scleucus' own departure from Babylon into Egypt. When he had finished this, he enlisted soldiers, and, having bought up horses, he distributed them to those who were able to handle them. Associating with all on friendly terms and raising high hopes in all, he kept his fellow adventurers ready and eager under every condition. In this way, then, Seleucus regained Babylonia.

92. But when Nieanor, the general in Media, gathered against him from Media and Persia and the neighbouring lands more than ten thousand foot soldiers and about seven thousand horse, Seleucus set out at full speed to oppose the enemy. He himself had in all more than three thousand foot and four hundred horse. He crossed the Tigris River; and, on hearing that the enemy were a few days' march distant, he hid his soldiers in the adjacent marshes, intending to make his attack a surprise. When Nicanor arrived at the Tigris River and did not find the enemy, he camped at one of the royal stations,

πεφευγέναι μακρότερον. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν περὶ Νικάνορα καταπεφρονηκότως καὶ ραθύμως ἐχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἐπιπεσῶν ὁ Σέλευκος ἄφνω πολλήν ταραχήν καὶ κατάπληξιν

4 κατεσκεύασε συναψάντων γάρ μάχην των Περσών συνέβη τόν τε σατράπην αὐτών Εὐαγρον πεσείν καί τινας των ἄλλων ήγεμόνων. οὐ συμβάντος οἱ πλείους των στρατιωτών τὰ μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον καταπεπληγμένοι, τὰ δὲ προσκόπτοντες τοῖς ὑπ' 'Λυτιγόνου πραττομένοις μετεβάλουτο πρὸς Σάλευκου.

δό δὲ Νικάνωρ μετ' όλίγων ἀπολειφθείς καὶ δεδιώς μη παραδυθή τοῖς πολεμίως, ἔφυγε μετὰ τῶν φίλων διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου. Σέλευκος δὲ δυνάμεως άδρᾶς κυριεύσας καὶ φιλανθρώπως πᾶσι προσφερόμενος ραδίως προσηγάγετο τήν τε Σουσιανήν καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τινας τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων περὶ τε τῶν διωκημένων ἔγραψε πρὸς Πτολεμαΐον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φίλους, ἔχων ήδη βασιλικόν ἀνάστημα καὶ δόξαν ἀξίαν ἡγεμονίας.

93. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πτολεμαΐος μὲν διέτριβε περὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν, νενικηκὼς Δημήτριον τὸν 'Αντιγόνου παρατάξει μεγάλη. ὅν πυνθανόμενος ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀνεστραφέναι καὶ στρατοπεδεύειν περὶ τὴν ἄνω Συρίαν, προεχειρίσατο

2 τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων Κίλλην τὸν Μακεδόνα τούτω δὲ δοὺς δύναμιν ἰκανὴν προσέταξεν ἐκδιῶξαι τὸν Δημήτριον τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίις ἢ περικαταλαβόντα συντρῦψαι. τούτου δ' ὅντος κατὰ πορείαν Δημήτριος διὰ τῶν σκοπῶν ἀκούσας τὸν Κίλλην

believing that they had fled to a greater distance size. than was the case. When night was come and the army of Nicanor was keeping a perfunctory and negligent guard, Seleveus fell on them suddenly. causing great confusion and panie; for it happened that when the Persians had joined battle, their satrap Evager 1 fell together with some of the other leaders. When this occurred, most of the soldiers went over to Seleucus, in part because they were frightened at the danger but in part because they were offended by the conduct of Antigonus. Nicanor, who was left with only a few men and feared lest he be delivered over to the enemy, took flight with his friends through the desert. But Seleucus, now that he had gained control of a large army and was comporting himself in a way gracious to all, easily won over Susiane, Media, and some of the adjacent lands; and he wrote to Ptolemy and his other friends about his achievements, already possessing a king's stature and a reputation worthy of royal power.

93. Meanwhile Ptolemy remained in Coele Syria after having conquered Antigonus' son Demetrius in a great battle.² On heaving that Demetrius had returned from Cilicia and was encamped in Upper Syria, he chose from the friends who were with him Cilles the Macedonian; and, giving him an adequate army, he ordered him to drive Demetrius completely out of Syria or to entrap and crush him.³ While Cilles was on the way, Demetrius, heaving from spice that he

For the victory of Ptolemy at Gaza op. chaps. 83 ff.

2 Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 6. 1-2.

Possibly to be identified with the Evagoras who is mentioned in chap, 48, 2 as satrap of Aria.

καταπεφρονηκότως Stephunus: καταπεφρονηκότων.

στρατοπεδεύειν καταπεφρονηκότως περί Μυοθυτα, την μέν αποσκευήν απέλιπε, τούς δε στρατιώτας εύζώνους παραλαβών νυκτός ,πορείαν σύντομον εποιήσατο, προσπεσών δε τοις πολεμίοις εωθινής φυλακής ἄφνω τής τε δυνάμεως άνευ μάχης έκυρίευσεν και αὐτὸν τὸν στρατηγὸν εζώγρησε. τηλικούτου δ' εὐτυχήματος γεγενημένου την ήτταν 3 ἀναμαχήσασθαι διειλήφει. οὐ μήν άλλα τον Πτολεμαΐον υπολαμβάνων ήξειν έπ' αὐτὸν μετά πάσης της δυνάμεως, εστρατοπέδευσε προβλήματα της παρεμβολής ποιησάμενος έλη και λίμνας. έγραψε δέ και πρός του πατέρα περί του γενομένου κατορθώματος, παρακαλών αὐτον ή δύναμιν αποστείλαι την ταχίστην η και αυτόν παραβαλείν είς την 4 Συρίαν. ό δ' 'Αντίγονος επύγχανε μέν ων εν Κελαιναίς της Φρυγίας, κομισάμενος δέ την επιστολήν έχάρη διαφερόντως έπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν τὸν υίὸν νέον όντα κατωρθωκέναι δι' αύτοῦ καὶ φαίνεσθαι βασιλείας άξιου. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβών ανέζευξεν έκ της Φρυγίας και τον Ταθρον ύπερ-Βαλών ολίναις ήμέραις συνέμιξε τοις περί τον 5 Δημήτριον. Πτολεμαΐος δέ πυθόμενος την 'Αντιγόνου παρουσίαν καὶ συναγαγών τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους έβουλεύετο πότερον συμφέρει μένειν καί αγωνίζεσθαι περί των όλων κατά Συρίαν ή προάνειν είς Λίγυπτον και πολεμείν έκείθεν, καθάπερ 6 καὶ πρότερου Περδίκκα. πάντες οὖν συνεβούλευον μή διακινδυνεύειν πρώς δύναμιν πολλαπλασίονα και θηρίων πλήθος, έτι δέ στρατηγών αήττητον.

¹ кай before паракалын omitted by Dindorf.

¹ Myus in Syria is otherwise unknown.

BOOK XIX, 93, 2-6

was carelessly encamped at Myus, left his baggage at a.c. behind and with his soldiers in light equipment made a forced march; then, falling suddenly upon the enemy during the early morning watch," he captured the army without a battle and took the general himself prisoner." By achieving such a success he believed that he had wiped out the defeat. Nevertheless, assuming that Ptolemy would march against him with all his army, he went into camp, using as the outworks of his defence swamps and marshes. He also wrote to his father about the success that had been gained, urging him either to send an army as soon as possible or to cross over into Syria himself. Antigonus chanced to be in Celaenae in Phrygia; and, on receiving the letter, he rejoiced greatly that his son, young as he was, seemed to have got out of his difficulties by himself and to have shown himself worthy to be a king. He himself with his army set out from Phrygia, crossed the Taurus, and within a few days joined Demetrius. Ptolemy, however. on hearing of the arrival of Antigonus, called together his leaders and friends and took counsel with them whether it was better to remain and reach a final decision in Syria or to withdraw to Egypt and carry on the war from there as he had formerly done against Perdiceas.4 Now all advised him not to risk a battle against an army that was many times stronger and had a larger number of clephants as well as against an unconquered general; for, they said, it would

2 f.e. the last watch of the night.

4 Cp. Book 18, 33-35,

³ This victory is minimized by Pausanias, 1. 6. 5. According to Pluturch (*Demetrius*, 6. 3), Demetrius restored Cilles and his staff to Ptolemy alive, thus repaying Ptolemy for his generosity after Gaza (chap. 85. 3).

εὐχερέστερον γὰρ πολλῷ διαγωνιςῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν Λίγυπτον, ταῖς τε χορηγίαις ὑπερέχοντα καὶ τόπων 7 ὀχυρότητι πιστεύοντα. διὸ καὶ κρίνας ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Συρίαν κατέσκαψε τὰς ἀξιολογωτάτας τῶν, κεκρατημένων πόλεων, "Λκην μὲν τῆς Φοινίκης Συρίας, 'Ίόππην δὲ καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Γάζαν τῆς Συρίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβῶν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν ἄγειν ἡ φέρειν ἐπαιηλθεν

eis Aiyunrov.

94. 'Αντίγονος δ' ἀκινδύνως ἀνακτησάμενος τήν τε Συρίαν πάσαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἐπεβιίλετο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν 'Αράβων τῶν καλουμένων Ναβαταίων. κρίνας γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ἀλλότριον εἶναι, προεχειρίσατο τῶν αὐτοῦ φιλων 'Αθήναιον, δοὺς δ' αὐτῷ πεζοὺς μὲν εὐζώνους τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους εἰς δρόμον ἔξακοσίους συνέταξεν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἄφνω καὶ τὴν λείαν πάσαν ἀποτεμέσθαι.

2 Χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων ἔνεκα διελθεῖν τὰ νόμιμα τῶν 'Αράβων τούτων, οἶς χρώμενοι δοκοῦσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διαφυλάττειν. ἔχουσι τοίνυν τὸν βίον ὑπαίθριον, πατρίδα καλοῦντες τὴν ἀοίκητον τὴν μήτε ποταμοὺς ἔχουσαν μήτε κρήνας δαψιλεῖς ἐξ ὧν δυνατὸν στρατόπεδον πολέμιον τόρευσασθαι. νόμος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μήτε σῖτον σπείρειν μήτε φυτεύειν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφύρον μήτε οἴνω χρῆσθαι μήτε οἰκίαν κατασκευάζειν. ΰς δ' ἄν παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὐρίσκηται, θάνατον αὐτῶ

BOOK XIX, 93, 6-94, 3

be much easier for him to settle the war in Egypt 112 a.c. where he had plenty of supplies and could trust to the difficulty of the terrain. Deciding, therefore, to leave Syria, he raked the most noteworthy of the cities that he had captured: Ake in Phoenician Syria, and Ioppe, Samaria, and Gaza in Syria; then he himself, taking the army and what of the booty it was possible to drive or carry, returned into Egypt.

94. Now that Antigonus without a fight had gained possession of all Syria and Phoenicia, he desired to make a campaign against the land of the Arabs who are called Nabataeans.* Deciding that this people was hostile to his interests, he selected one of his friends, Athenaeus, gave him four thousand light foot-soldiers and six hundred horsemen fitted for speed, and ordered him to set upon the barbarians

suddenly and cut off all their cattle as booty.

For the sake of those who do not know, it will be useful to state in some detail the customs of these Arabs, by following which, it is believed, they preserve their liberty. They live in the open air, claiming as native land a wilderness that has neither rivers nor abundant springs from which it is possible for a hostile army to obtain water. It is their custom neither to plant grain, set out any fruit-bearing tree, use wine, nor construct any house; and if anyone is found acting contrary to this, death is his penalty.

1 Cp. Pausanias, 1, 6, 5.

³ Cp. the description of the Rechabites in Jeremiah,

35, 6-10.

This was clearly a preliminary step to the invasion of Egypt itself which he already had in mind. Cambyses before invading Egypt made terms with the Arabs (Herodotus, 3. 4-9). For these Arabs cp. Strabo, 16. 4 passin (particularly § 26); and also Diodorus' own earlier description of them (Book 2. 48).

4 πρόστιμου είναι. χρώνται δὲ τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ διαλαμβάνοντες τους ταθτα κτωμένους άναγκασθήσεσθαι ραδίως ύπο τών δυνατών ένεκα τής τούτων χρείας ποιείν το προστασσόμενον. τρέφουσι δ' αὐτιον οί μεν καμήλους, οί δε πρόβατα, την ερημον έπινέμοντες. ούκ ολίγων δ' όντων 'Αραβικών έθνων των την έρημον επινεμόντων ούτοι πολύ των άλλων προέχουσε ταις εύπορίαις, τον αριθμόν ύντες 5 ου πολύ πλείους των μυρίων εἰώθασι γαρ αὐτῶν ούκ ολίγοι κατάγειν έπὶ θάλασσαν λιβανωτόν τε καὶ σμύρναν καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν ἀρωμάτων, διαδεχήμενοι παρά τών κυμιζύντων έκ της Εύδαί-6 μουσε καλουμένης 'Αραβίας, φιλελεύθεροι δέ είπι διαφερόντως και όταν πολεμίων δύναμις άδρα προσίη, φεύγουσεν είς την ερημον, ταύτη χρώμενοι οχυριόματι αινόρος γάρ ούσα τοις μέν άλλοις ανεπίβατός έστι, τούτοις δέ κατεσκευακόσιν αγγεία κατά γης δρυκτά κεκονιαμένα μόνοις παρέχεται την 7 ἀσφάλειαν. της γάρ γης ούσης της μέν άργιλλώδους, της δε πέτραν εχούσης μαλακήν ορύγματα μεγάλα ποιούσιν έν αὐτῆ, ὧν τὰ μὲν στόμια μικρά παντελώς κατασκευάζουσι, κατά βάθους δ' αεί μαλλον εύρυχωρή ποιούντες το τελευταίον τηλικούτ' άποτελούσι το μέγεθος ώστε γίνεσθαι πλευράν έκά-8 στην πλέθρου. ταθτα δέ τὰ άγγεῖα πληροθντες ύδατος ομβρίου τα στόματ' εμφράττουσι και ποιοῦντες ισόπεδον τη λοιπή χώρα σημεία καταλείπουσιν έαυτοις μέν γιγνωσκόμενα, τοις δ' άλλοις άνεπι-9 νόητα. ποτίζουσι δέ καὶ τὴν λείαν δι' ἡμερών τριών, όπως έν ταις άνυδρίαις και φυγαίς μή προσ-

i.e. Arabia the Fortunate (Arabia Felix), the southwestern part of the peninsula (cp. Book 2, 49).

BOOK XIX. 94. 2-0

They follow this custom because they believe that are n.c. those who possess these things are, in order to retain the use of them, easily compelled by the powerful to do their bidding. Some of them raise camels, others sheep, pasturing them in the desert. While there are many Arabian tribes who use the desert as pasture, the Nabataeans far surpass the others in wealth although they are not much more than ten thousand in number; for not a few of them are accustomed to bring down to the sea frankincense. and myrrh and the most valuable kinds of spices, which they procure from those who convey them from what is called Arabia Eudaemon. They are exceptionally fond of freedom; and, whenever a strong force of enemies comes near, they take refuge in the desert, using this as a fortress "; for it lacks water and cannot be crossed by others, but to them alone, since they have prepared subterranean reservoirs lined with stucco, it furnishes safety. As the earth in some places is clayey and in others is of soft stone, they make great excavations in it, the mouths of which they make very small, but by constantly increasing the width as they dig deeper, they finally make them of such size that each side has a length of one plethrum.3 After filling these reservoirs with rain water, they close the openings, making them even with the rest of the ground, and they leave signs that are known to themselves but are unrecognizable by others. They water their cattle every other day, so that, if they flee through waterless places, they may not need a continuous

² In Book 2, 48, 5 Diodorus states that the kings of the Assyrians and of the Medes and Persians vainly sent large forces against these Arabs.

a About 100 feet.

δέωνται συνεχῶν ύδάτων. αὐτοὶ δὲ χρῶνται τροφῆ κρέασι καὶ γάλακτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς 10 φυομένων τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις φύεται γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πέπερι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων μέλι πολὺ τὸ καλούμενον ἄγριον, ῷ χρῶνται ποτῷ μεθ' ὕδατος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα γένη τῶν ᾿Αράβων, ὧν ἔνια καὶ γεωργεῖ μιγιύμενα τοῖς φορολογουμένοις καὶ μετέχει τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς Σύροις πλὴν τοῦ κατασκηνοῦν ἐν οἰκίαις.

95. Τὰ μὲν οὖν νόμιμα τῶν ᾿Αράβων τοιαῦτ᾽ εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ὑπογύου δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὕσης πανηγύρεως, εἰς ἡμ εἰώθασιν οἱ περίοικοι καταντᾶν οἱ μὲν ἀποδωσόμενοι τῶν φορτίων, οἱ δ᾽ ἀγοράσοντές τι τῶν αὐτοῖς χρησίμων, εἰς ταύτην ἐπορεύθησαν, ἀπολιπόντες ἐπί τινος πέτρας τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, ἔτι δὲ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὑπῆρχεν ὀχυρὸν μὲν καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀτείχιστον δέ, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέχον δυεῖν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν.

Οί δὲ περὶ τὸν 'Αθήναιον παρατηρήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν εὕζωνον ἔχοντες τὴν δύναμιν διανύσαντες δ' ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ιδουμαίας ἐπαρχίας ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶ καὶ νυξὶ ταῖς ἴσαις σταδίους δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους ἔλαθον τοὺς "Αραβας περὶ μέσας νύκτας καταλαβόμενοι τὴν πέτραν. εὐθὺς δὲ τῶν ἐγκατειλημμένων οῦς μὲν ἀνήρουν, οῦς δ' ἐζώγρουν, ἐνίους δὲ τραυματίας

¹ και ἀπό τῶν δένδρων Wesseling : ἀπό τῶν δένδρων καί.

¹ Perhaps the so-called tamarisk-manna, a sweet gum which exudes from the slender branches of *Tamarix gallica* when these have been punctured by a certain insect. This

supply of water. They themselves use as food flesh \$12 a.c. and milk and those of the plants that grow from the ground which are suitable for this purpose; for among them there grow the pepper and plenty of the 'so-called wild honey from trees,' which they drink mixed with water. There are also other tribes of Arabs, some of whom even till the soil, mingling with the tribute-paying peoples, and have the same customs as the Syrians, except that they do not dwell in houses.

95. It appears that such are the customs of the Arabs. But when the time draws near for the national gathering at which those who dwell round about are accustomed to meet, some to sell goods and others to purchase things that are needful to them, they travel to this meeting, leaving on a certain rock their possessions and their old men, also their women and their children. This place is exceedingly strong but unwalled, and it is distant two days journey from the settled country.

After waiting for this season, Athenaeus set out for the rock with his army in light marching order. Covering the twenty-two hundred stades 3 from the district of Idumaca in three days and the same number of nights, he escaped the attention of the Arabs and seized the rock at about midnight. Of those that were caught there, some he slew at once, some he took as prisoners, and others who were

is thought by some to be the manna of Exodus 16. Cp. Herodotus, 7, 31.

a This natural stronghold may be the later Petra.

About 250 miles; but the number must be corrupt. In chap. 98. I the distance from the rock to the Dead Sea, which lies along the middle of Idumaea," is given as 300 stades, about 34 miles.

άπέλιπον και του μέν λιβανωτού και της σμύρνης συνεσκευάσαιτο τὸ πλείον μέρος, άργυρίου δὲ περὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. ενδιατρίψωντες δ' οὐ πλείω χρόνον φυλακής έωθινής εὐθὸς ἀνέστρεψαν κατά σπουδήν, διαλαμβάνοιτες ύπο των βαρβάρων διωχβήσεσθαι. διατείναντες δε σταδίους διακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ύντες κατάκοποι καὶ ραθύμως έχοντες τὰ περί τὰς φυλακάς, ώς αν νομίζοντες μή πρότερον δύνασθαι τους πολεμίους έλθειν δυείν ή 4 τριών ήμερών. οί δ' "Αραβές πυθόμενοι παρά τών έωρακότων το στρατόπεδον παραχρήμα ήθροίσθησαν και την πανήγυριν απολιπόντες ήκου έπι την πέτραν παρά δε των τραυματιών μαθόντες τὰ γε-5 γουότα κατά σπουδήν εδίωκον τους "Ελληνας. των δέ περί τον 'Αθήναιον στρατοπεδευσάντων καταπεφρυνηκότως και δια τον κόπον εν υπνιρ καθεστώτων έλαθόν τινες των αιχμαλώτων διαδράντες, παρ' ών οί Ναβαταΐοι μαθόντες τὰ κατά τοὺς πολεμίους έπέθεντο τη στρατοπεδεία περί τρίτην φυλακήν, όντες οὐκ ελάσσω οκτακισχιλίων. και τούς πλείους μέν έν ταις κοίταις όντας έτι κατέσφαξαν, τούς δέ διεγειρομένους και χωρούντας είς οπλα κατηκόντιζον και πέρας οι μέν πεζοι πάντες άνηρέθησαν, των δε ίππεων διεσώθησαν είς πεντήκοντα και τούτων οι πλείους τραυματίαι.

6 Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ᾿Αθήναιον ἐν ἀρχῆ κατορθώσαντες ἐξ ὑστέρου διὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀβουλίαν τοῦτοντὸν τρόπον ἐσφάλησαν ταῖς γὰρ εὖτυχίαις εἴωθενῶς ἐπίπαν ἀκολουθεῖν ῥαβυμία καὶ καταφρόνησις.

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BOOK XIX, 95, 3-6

wounded he left behind : and of the frankincense and 312 a.c. myrrh he gathered together the larger part, and about five hundred talents of silver. Delaying no longer than the early morning watch, he at once departed at top speed, expecting to be pursued by the barbarians. When he and his men had marched without pause for two hundred stades, they made camp, being tired and keeping a careless watch as if they believed that the enemy could not come before two or three days. But when the Arabs heard from those who had seen the expedition, they at once gathered together and, leaving the place of assembly, came to the rock; then, being informed by the wounded of what had taken place, they pursued the Greeks at top speed, While the men of Athenaeus were encamped with little thought of the enemy and because of their weariness were deep in sleep, some of their prisoners escaped secretly; and the Nabataeans, learning from them the condition of the enemy, attacked the camp at about the third watch, being no less than eight thousand in number. Most of the hostile troops they slaughtered where they lay; the rest they slew with their javelins as they awoke and sprang to arms. the end all the foot-soldiers were slain, but of the horsemen about fifty escaped, and of these the larger part were wounded.

And so Athenaeus, after being successful at first, later because of his own folly failed in this manner; for carelessness and indifference are, in general,

4 About 224 miles.

¹ i.e. the last watch of the night. If we follow the MSS, and omit ἐωθυῆς, we may translate: "Delaying no longer than a single watch, he departed at top speed..."

² έωθωης added by Kallenberg.

7 διόπερ ἔνιοι προσηκόντως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εὐχερέστερον ὑπάρχειν συμφορὰς ἐνεγκεῖν ἐπιδεξίως ἢ τὰς εὐμεγέθεις εὐημερίας ἐμφρόνως αἱ μὰν γὰρ διὰ τὸν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος φόβον ἐπαναγκάζουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, αἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ προγεγονὸς εὐτύχημα

προτρέπονται καταφρονείν πάντων.

96. Οί δε Ναβαταίοι τους πολομίους κολάσαιτες ανδρωδώς αὐτοί μεν επανηλθου είς την πέτραν τά υφέτερα κεκομισμένοι, πρός δ' Αντίνονον επιστολήν γρώμαντες Συρίως γράμμασι των μέν περί Αθήναιον κατηγόρουν ύπερ έαυτών δε άπελο-2 γούντο. όδ' Αντίγονος αντέγρωμεν αύτοις, προσμαρτυρών ώς δικαίως μεν ήμύναντο, των δε περί Αθήναιου κατήγορει, φάσκων παρά τὰς δεδομένας έντολάς ύπ' αύτου πεποιήσθαι την επίθεσιν. τούτο δ' επραττε κρύπτων την έαυτοῦ προαίρεσαν καὶ βουλόμενος υπαγαγέσθαι τους βαρβάρους είς ραθυμίαν, όπως ανελπίστως επιθέμενος κρατήση της επιβολής ου γάρ βάδιον ήν άνευ δάλου τινός άνδρών περιγενέσθαι νομάδα βίον εξηλωκότων καί 3 καταφυγήν απρόσιτον έχόντων την έρημον. οί δ' "Αραβες περιχαρείς μεν ήσαν επί τω δοκείν απολελύσθαι μεγάλων φόβων, οὐ μὴν παντελώς ἐπίστευόν γε τοις 'Αντιγόνου λόγοις, αλλά τας έλπίδας έχοντες άμφιδοξουμένας σκοπούς μέν κατέστησαν έπι των λόφων, ἀφ' ών ήν ράδιον συνοράν πάρρωθεν τας είς την 'Αραβίαν εμβολάς, αὐτοί δε συνταξάμενοι τὰ περὶ έαυτοὺς προσηκόντως έκαραδόκουν 4 τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. ὁ δ' ᾿Αντίγονος φιλοποιησά-μενος χρόνον τινὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ νομίσας αύτους έξηπατημένους παραδεδωκέναι του καθ'

BOOK XIX, 95, 7-96, 4

wont to follow success. For this reason some rightly sizer. believe that it is easier to meet disaster with skill than very great success with discretion; for disaster, because of the fear of what is to follow, forces men to be careful, but success, because of the previous good fortune, tempts men to be careless about

everything.

96. When the Nabataeans had manfully punished the enemy they themselves returned to the rock with the property that they had recovered; but to Antigonus they wrote a letter in Syrian characters in which they accused Athenaeus and vindicated themselves. Antigonus replied to them, agreeing that they had been justified in defending themselves; but he found fault with Athenaeus, saying that he had made the attack contrary to the instructions that had been given. He did this, hiding his own intentions and desiring to delude the barbarians into a sense of security so that, by making an unexpected attack, he might accomplish his desire; for it was not easy without some deception to get the better of men who zealously pursued a nomadic life and possessed the desert as an inaccessible refuge. The Arabs were highly pleased because they seemed to have been relieved of great fears; yet they did not altogether trust the words of Antigonus, but, regarding their prospects as uncertain, they placed watchmen upon the hills from which it was easy to see from a distance the passes into Arabia, and they themselves, after having arranged their affairs in proper fashion, anxiously awaited the issue. But Antigonus, when he had treated the barbarians as friends for some time and believed that they had been thoroughly deceived and thus had given him

αύτων καιρόν, εξέλεξεν εξ άπάσης της δυνάμεως πεζούς μεν ψιλούς καὶ πρὸς δρόμον εὖ πεψυκότας τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων καὶ τούτοις μεν παρήγγειλε φέρειν ἄπυρα σῖτα πλειόνων ἡμερῶν, Δημήτριου δὲ τὰν υίὰν καταστήσας ἡγεμώνα πρώτης φυλακῆς εξέπεμψε, προστάξας κολάσαι τοὺς "Αραβας καθ' ὅν αν δύ-

ιηται τρόπον.

97. Ούτος μέν ούν έφ' ήμερας τρείς ανοδία πορευόμενος έσπευδε λαθείν τους βαρβάρους, οι δέ σκοποί κατανοήσαντες πολεμίαν δύναμαν είσβιβληκυΐαν εσήμηναν τοις Ναβαταίοις διά των συγκιιμένων πυρσών διόπερ οι βάρβαροι νομίσαντες συντόμως ήκειν τους "Ελληνας, είς μεν την πέτμαν απέθεντο τας απυσκευώς και φυλακήν την ίκανήν έπέστησαν, ούσης μιας αναβάσεως χειροποιήτου, αὐτοι δέ διελόμενοι την λείων άλλοι κατ' άλλους 2 τόπους απήλαυνου είς την έρημου. Δημήτριος δέ παραγενόμενος είς την πέτραν και την λείαν καταλαβών απηλλαγμένην προσβολάς συνεχείς έποιείτο τέρ χωρίω. αμυνομένων δέ τών ένδον ευρώστως και περιγιγνομένων ραδίως δου την ύπεροχήν των τόπων τότε μέν μέχρι δείλης άγωνισάμενος άνεκαλέσατο τη σάλπιγγι τους στρατιώτας. 3 Τη δ' ύστεραία προσαγαγόντος αύτου τη πέτρα

Τῆ δ' ὑστεραία προσαγαγόντος αὐτοῦ τῆ πέτρα τῶν βαρβάρων τις ἀνεβόησεν "Βασιλεῦ Δημήτριε, τί βουλόμενος ἢ τίνος ἀναγκάζοντος πολεμεῖς ἡμῶς, οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἐρημία καὶ τόποις οὕθ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσιν οὕτε σῖτον οὕτε οἶνον οὕτ' ἄλλο τι ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν his opportunity against themselves, selected from at a n.e. his whole force four thousand foot-soldiers, who were lightly armed and well fitted by nature for rapid marching, and more than four thousand mounted men. He ordered them to carry several days' supply of food that would not require cooking, and, after placing his son Demetrius in command, he sent them off during the first watch, ordering him to punish the

Arabs in whatever way he could.

97. Demetrius, therefore, advanced for three days through regions with no roads, striving not to be observed by the barbarians; but the lookouts, having seen that a hostile force had entered, informed the Nabataeans by means of prearranged fire signals. The barbarians, having thus learned at once that the Greeks had come, sent their property to the rock: and posted there a garrison that was strong enough since there was a single artificial approach; and they themselves divided their flocks and drove them into the desert, some into one place and some into another. Demetrius, on arriving at the rock and finding that the flocks had been removed, made repeated assaults upon the stronghold. Those within resisted stoutly, and easily had the upper hand because of the height of the place; and so on this day, after he had continued the struggle until evening, he recalled his soldiers by a trumpet call.

On the next day, however, when he had advanced upon the rock, one of the barbarians called to him, saying: "King Demetrius, with what desire or under what compulsion do you war against us who live in the desert and in a land that has neither water nor grain nor wine nor any other thing whatever of those

¹ είσβεβληκυΐαν Dindorf : είσβεβηκυΐαν.

4 των παρ' ύμιν είς την χρείαν άνηκόντων; ήμεις γαρ ούδενι τρόπω προσιέμενοι δουλεύειν συμπεφεύγαμεν είς χώραν σπανίζουσαν πάντων τῶν ἐν τοις άλλοις χρησίμων και βίου τιλόμεθα ζην έρημου καί θηριώδη παντελώς, ούδεν ύμας βλάπτόντες. άξιοθμεν οθν και σε και τον πατέρα μή άδικεθν ήμας, άλλα λαβόντας δωρεάς παρ' ήμων απαγαγείν το στρατόπεδον και φίλους τομίζειν Ναβαταίους είς 5 τον λοιπον χρόνον. ουτε γαρ βουλόμενος δύνασαι μένειν ενταύθα πλείους ήμέρας, απορούμενος ύδατος και των άλλων επιτηδείων απάντων, ούθ ήμας δύνασαι συναναγκάσαι βίον ζην έτερον, αλλά τινας αίχμαλώτους έξεις δούλους άθύμους και ζον ο ούκ αν υπομείναντας εν άλλοις νομίμοις." δηθέντων δὲ τοιούτων λόγων Δημήτριος μὲν ἀπαγαγών την στρατιάν εκέλευσεν αύτους πρέσβεις αποστέλλειν περί τούτων οι δε "Αραβες εξέπεμψαν τους πρεσβυτάτους, οι παραπλήσια τοις προειρημένοις διελθόντες έπεισαν δεξάμενον δώρα τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς διαλύσασθαι.

98. 'Ο μεν οὖν Δημήτριος λαβών ὁμήρους καὶ τὰς ὁμολογηθείσας δωρεὰς ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας διατείνας δὲ σταδίους τριακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῆς 'Ασφαλτίτιδος λίμνης, ῆς τὴν φύσιν οὖκ ἄξιον παραδραμεῖν ἀνεπισήμαντον. κεῖται γὰρ κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς 'Ιδουμαίας, τῷ μὲν μήκει παρεκτείνουσα σταδίους μάλιστὰ που πεντακοσίους, τῷ δὲ πλάτει περὶ ἐξήκοντα. τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἔχει διάπικρον καὶ

2 7d added by Hertlein.

¹ Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 7. 1.

that pertain to the necessities of life among you, signe. For we, since we are in no way willing to be slaves, have all taken refuge in a land that lacks all the things that are valued among other peoples and have chosen to live a life in the desert and one altogether like that of wild beasts, harming you not at all. We therefore beg both you and your father to do us no injury but, after receiving gifts from us, to withdraw your army and henceforth regard the Nabataeans as your friends. For neither can you, if you wish, remain here many days since you lack water and all the other necessary supplies, nor can you force us to live a different life; but you will have a few captives, disheartened slaves who would not consent to live among strange ways." When words such as these had been spoken, Demetrius withdrew his army and ordered the Arabs to send an embassy about these matters. They sent their oldest men, who, repeating arguments similar to those previously uttered, persuaded him to receive as gifts the most precious of their products and to make terms with them.

98. Demetrius received hostages and the gifts that had been agreed upon and departed from the rock. After marching for three hundred stades, he camped near the Dead Sea, the nature of which ought not to be passed over without remark. It lies along the middle of the satrapy of Idumaea, extending in length about five hundred stades and in width about sixty. Its water is very bitter and of exceedingly

2 About 34 miles, but cp. chap. 95. 2, and note.

* Literally, the Asphalic Lake. The rest of this chapter repeats Book 2, 48, 6-9, almost verbally.

About 571 and 7 miles respectively. The actual length to-day is about 47 miles.

καθ' ὑπερβολήν δυσώδες, ώστε μήτ' ἰχθύν δύνααθαι τρέφειν μήτ' άλλο των καθ' ύδατος εἰωβότων ζώων είναι. Εμβαλλόντων δ' είς αὐτην ποταμών μεγάλων τη γλυκύτητι διαφόρων τούτων μέν περιγίνεται κατά την δυσωδίαν, έξ αύτης δε μέσης εκφυσά κατ' ένιαυτον ασφάλτου στερεάς μέγεθος ποτε μεν μείζον ή τρίπλεθρον, έστι δ' ὅτ' οὐ πολύ λειπόμενον πλέθρου εφ' τῷ δὴ συνήθως οἱ περιοικούντες βάρβαροι το μεν μείζον καλούσι ταύρον, το δε έλασσον μόσχον. επιπλεούσης δε της ασφάλτου πελαγίας ο τόπος φαίνεται τοις έξ αποστήματος θεωρούσιν οίονεί τις νήσος. την δ' έκπτωσιν φανεράν συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι προ ήμερών είκοσι. κύκλω γάρ της λίμνης ἐπὶ πολλούς σταδίους όσμη της ασφάλτου προσπίπτει μετά πνεύματος μοχθηρού καὶ πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἄργυρος καὶ γρυσύς καὶ χαλκός ἀποβάλλει τὴν ίδιότητα τοῦ χρώματος. αλλ' αυτη μέν αποκαθίσταται πάλιν επειδάν άναφυσηθήναι συμβή πάσαν την άσφαλτον ό δέ πλησίου τόπος έμπυρος ών και δυσώδης ποιεί τι σώματα τῶν περιοικούντων ἐπίνυσα καὶ παντελῶς όλιγογρόνια. άγαθη δ' έστι φοινικόφυτος όσην αὐτης συμβαίνει διειληφθαι ποταμοίς χρησίμοις ή πηγαίς δυναμέναις αρδεύειν. γίνεται δε περί τούς τόπους τούτους εν αὐλῶνί τινι καὶ τὸ καλούμενον βάλσαμον, έξ ού πρόσοδον άδραν είναι συμβαίνει, ούδαμού μέν της άλλης οίκουμένης εύρισκομένου

¹ strai added by Stephanus from Book 2, 48, 7, 2 perà added by Wesseling from Book 2, 48, 8,

¹ Here the plethrum is a surface measure of about 10,000 square feet. For such asphalt from lakes op. Vitruvins, 8, 2, 8.

BOOK XIX, 98

foul odour, so that it can support neither fish nor any ME K.C. of the other creatures usually found in water. Although great rivers whose waters are of exceptional sweetness flow into it, it prevails over these by reason of its foulness; and from its centre each year it sends forth a mass of solid asphalt, sometimes more than three plethra in area, sometimes a little less than one plethrum.1 When this happens the barbarians who live near habitually call the larger mass a bull and the smaller one a calf. When the asphalt is floating on the sea, its surface seems to those who see it from a distance just like an island. It appears that the ejection of the asphalt is indicated twenty days in advance,2 for on every side about the sea for a distance of many stades the odour of the asphalt spreads with a noisome exhalation, and all the silver, gold, and bronze in the region lose their proper colours. These, however, are restored as soon as all the asphalt has been ejected; but the neighbouring region is very torrid and ill smelling, which makes the inhabitants sickly in body and exceedingly shortlived. Yet the land is good for raising palm trees in whatever part it is crossed by serviceable rivers? or is supplied with springs that can irrigate it. In a certain valley in this region there grows what is called balsam, from which there is a great income since nowhere else in the inhabited world is this plant

² Twenty-two days in Book 2, 48, 8,

³ i.e. rivers that flow during the dry season. To-day the Jordan is the only perennial stream of any size entering the sea. There are, however, a number of cases about springs near the sea.

For the balsam op. Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants,
 6. 1-4; Pliny, Natural History, 12, 111-123; Strabo,
 8. 41.

του φυτου, της δ' έξ αὐτου χρείας εἰς φάρμακα

τοῖς ἐατροῖς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐθετούσης. 99. Τὴν δ' ἐκπίπτουσαν ἄσφαλτον οἱ περιοικοῦντες έξ αμφοτέρων των μερών την λίμνην διαρπάζουσι πολιμικίος διακτίμενοι προς άλλήλους, άνευ πλοίων ίδιαζόντως την κομιδήν ποιούμενοι. παρασκευασάμενοι γάρ δέσμας καλάμων εθμεγέθεις έμβάλλουσιν είς την λίμιην έπι δε τούτων έπικάθηνται οὐ πλείω τριών, ών δύο μέν έχοντις προσδεδεμένας πλάτας κωπηλατούσιν, είς δε φυρών τόξα τους προσπλέοντας εκ του πέραν ή βιάζεσθαι 2 τολμώντας αμύνεται. όταν δε πλησίου γένωνται της ασφάλτου, πελέκεις έχοντες επιπηδώσι και καθάπερ μαλακής πέτρας ἀποκόπτουτες γεμίζουσι την δέσμην, είτα αποπλέουσιν είς τουπίοω. αν δέ τις αὐτῶν ἀποπέση τῆς δέσμης διαλυθείσης μή δυνάμενος νείν, ου καταδύεται καθάπερ έν τοίς άλλοις ύδασιν, άλλά επινήχεται τοις επισταμένοις 3 όμυίως. ψύσει γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ύγρὸν παραδέχεται βάρος ο συμβαίνει μετέχειν αθξήσεως η πιεύματος, έξω των στερεών, α την πυκνότητα δοκεί παραπλησίαν έχειν άργύρω και χρυσώ και μολύβδω και τοῖς όμοίοις καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πολύ βραδύτερον καταφέρεται τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις λίμναις ριπτουμένων. ταύτην δ' ἔχοντες οἱ βάρβαροι πρόσοδον απάγουσε την ασφαλτον είς την Λίγυπτον καὶ πωλούσιν εἰς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν μὴ μιγνυμένης γάρ ταύτης τοις λοιποις αριύμασιν ου δυνατον γενέσθαι την των σωμάτων φυλακήν πολυχρόνιον.

100. 'Ο δ' 'Αντίγονος, επανελθόντος του Δημητρίου και τὰ κατά μέρος τῶν πεπραγμένων

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found, and its use as a drug is very important to aizm.

physicians.

99. When the asphalt has been ejected, the people who live about the sea on both sides carry it off like plunder of war since they are hostile to each other, making the collection without boats in a peculiar They make ready large bundles of reeds and cast them into the sea. On these not more than three men take their places, two of whom row with oars, which are lashed on, but one carries a bow and repels any who sail against them from the other shore or who venture to interfere with them. When they have come near the asphalt they jump upon it with axes and, just as if it were soft stone, they cut out pieces and load them on the raft, after which they sail back. If the raft comes to pieces and one of them who does not know how to swim falls off, he does not sink as he would in other waters, but stays afloat as well as do those who do know. For this liquid by its nature supports heavy bodies that have the power of growth or of breathing, except for solid ones that seem to have a density like that of silver, gold, lead, and the like; and even these sink much more slowly than do these same bodies if they are cast into other lakes. The barbarians who enjoy this source of income take the asphalt to Egypt and sell it for the embalming of the dead; for unless this is mixed with the other aromatic ingredients, the preservation of the bodies cannot be permanent.

100. Antigonus, when Demetrius returned and made a detailed report of what he had done, rebuked

a wr added by Schaefer. advar added by Capps.

απαγγείλαντος, επὶ μεν τῆ συνθέσει τῆ προς τοὺς Ναβαταίους επετίμησεν αὐτῷ, λέγων ὅτι πολλώ θρασυτέρους πεποίηκε τους βαρβάρους εάσας άτιμωρήτους δόξειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τετευχένιμ συγγνώμης οὐ δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἀδυναμίαν τοῦ κρατήσαι έπι δε τω κατασκέψασθαι την λίμνην και δοκείν εύρηκέναι τινά τη βαπιλεία πρόποδου έπαινέσας επί μεν ταύτης επιμελητήν εταξεν Τερώνυμον 2 του τας ιστορίας συγγράψαντα, τούτω δε συνετέτακτο πλοία παρασκευάσασθαι και πάσαν την ασφαλτον αναλαβόντα συνάγειν είς τινα τόπον. οδ μήν απέβη γε και το τέλος κατά την έλπίδα τοις περί τον 'Αντίγονον' οι γαρ "Αραβες συπτραφέντες είς εξακισχιλίους, επιπλεύσαντες εν ταις δεσμαις έπὶ τους έν τοῖς πλοίοις, σχεδον απαντας κατ-3 ετόξευσαν. εξ οῦ δη συνέβη τον 'Αντίγωνον ιδπογνώναι τὰς προσόδους ταύτας διὰ τὸ γεγονός παράπτωμα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν πρὸς ἐτέροις μείζοσι. παρεγένετο γάρ κατά τούτους τούς καιρούς βυβλιαφόρος έχων επιστολήν παρά Νικάνορος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς τε Μηδίας και τῶν ἄνωι σατραπειῶν· ἐν ταύτη δ' ἦν γεγραμμένον περί τε τῆς ἀναβάσεως τῆς Σελεύκου καὶ τῶν γεγονότων περὶ 4 αύτον ατυχημάτων. διόπερ αγωνιών ό 'Αντίγουυς περί² των άνω σατραπειών έξέπεμψε Δημήτριον τον υίον έχοντα πεζούς Μακεδόνας μέν πεντακισχιλίους, μισθοφόρους δέ μυρίους, ίππεῖς δέ τετρακισχιλίους συνετέτακτο δ' αὐτῶ μέχρι Βαβυλώνος

¹ dwg Dindorf : allow.

^{*} καὶ before περί in all MSS., deleted by first hand in R and by editors. Perhaps we should read καὶ (περὶ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ) περὶ τῶν etc.

BOOK XIX, 100, 1-4

him for the treaty with the Nabataeans, saying that 312 no. he had made the barbarians much bolder by leaving them unpunished, since it would seem to them that they had gained pardon not through his kindness but through his inability to overcome them; but he praised him for examining the lake and apparently having found a source of revenue for the kingdom. In charge of this he placed Hieronymus, the writer of the history, and instructed him to prepare boats, collect all the asphalt, and bring it together in a certain place. But the result was not in accord with the expectations of Antigonus; for the Arabs, collecting to the number of six thousand and sailing up on their rafts of reeds against those on the hoats, killed almost all of them with their arrows. As a result. Antigonus gave up this source of revenue because of the defeat he had suffered and because his mind was engaged with other and weightier matters. For there came to him at this time a dispatch-bearer with a letter from Nicanor, the general of Media and the upper satrapies. In this letter was written an account of Seleucus' march inland and of the disasters that had been suffered in connection with him.2 Therefore Antigonus, worried about the upper satrapies, sent his son Demetrius with five thousand Macedonian and ten thousand mercenary foot-soldiers and four thousand horse; and he ordered him to go up as far as Babylon and then, after

¹ For Hieronymus ep. the Introduction to Vol. IX.

² Cp. chaps. 90-92. For the campaign that follows ep. Plutarch, *Demetrins*, 7, 2-3. It should, perhaps, be placed in 311 s.c.

^{*} Or, reading wal wepl ris Myslas wal wepl row . . .: "worried both about Media and about the upper satraples."

άναβήναι καὶ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀνακτησάμενου κατα-

βαίνειν συντόμως έπὶ θάλασσαν.

5 Ο μεν οῦν Δημήτριος ὁρμήσας ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ τῆς Συρίας τὸ συνταχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπετέλει μετὰ σπουδῆς: ὁ δὲ καθεσταμένος ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας στρατηγὸς Πατροκλῆς πυθόμενος περὶ Μεσοποταμίαν εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑπομεῖναι μὲν τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, ὀλίγους ἔχων περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις προσέταξεν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν διαβιίντας τὸν Εὐφράτην ψυγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, τοὺς δὲ περάσαντας τὸν Γίγριν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Σουσιαιὴν πρὸς

6 Εὐτελη³ καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν, αὐτὸς δὲ μεθ' ών είχε στρατιωτῶν προβολαῖς χρώμενος ῥεύμασι³ ποταμῶν καὶ διώρυξιν ἀνεοτρέφετο περὶ τὴν σατραπείαν, ἄμα μὲν ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄμα δὲ πέμπων πρὸς Σέλευκον εἰς Μηδίαν περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ συντελουμένων καὶ παρακαλῶν βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχί-

7 στην. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐπειδὴ παραγενόμενος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τὴν πόλιν ἐκλελειμμένην εὖρεν, πολιορκεῖν ἐπεχείρει τὰς ἀκροπόλεις. ὧν τὴν ἐτέραν ἐλὼν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἰδίοις στρατιώταις εἰς διαρπαγήν. τὴν δ' ἐτέραν πολιορκήσας ἡμέρας τινάς, ἐπειδὴ χρόνου προσεδεῖτο, 'Αρχέλαον μὲν ἔνα τῶν φίλων ἀπέλιπε στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, δοὺς αὐτῷ πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακιαχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους, αὖτὸς δέ, τοῦ χρόνου συντρέχοντος ἐν ῷ συντεταγμένον ἢν τὴν ἄφοδον αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι,

¹ διαβώντας Rhodoman : ἐκλιπόντας.

BOOK XIX, 100, 5-7

recovering the satrapy, to come down to the sea at 3.2 a.c.

full speed.

So Demetrius, having set out from Damaseus in Syrin, carried out dis father's orders with zeal. Patrocles, who had been established as general of Babylonia by Seleucus, hearing that the enemy was on the frontiers of Mesopotamia, did not dare await their arrival since he had few men at hand; but he gave orders to the civilians to leave the city, bidding some of them cross the Euphrates and take refuge in the desert and some of them pass over the Tigris and go into Susiane to Euteles and to the Red Sea : and he himself with what soldiers he had. using river courses and canals as defences, kept moving about in the satrapy, watching the enemy and at the same time sending word into Media to Seleucus about what was taking place from time to time and urging him to send aid as soon as possible. When Demetrius on his arrival at Babylon found the city abandoned, he began to besiege the citadels. He took one of these and delivered it to his own soldiers for plundering; the other he besieged for n few days and then, since the capture required time, left Archelaus, one of his friends, as general for the siege, giving him five thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, while he himself, the time being close at hand at which he had been ordered to return,

i.e. the Persian Gulf.

³ perjuros added by Fischer, cp. Book 17. 55. 1.

⁴ If the proper name is retained (ep. the critical note) we must suppose Enteles to be the commander established in Susiané by Seleucus (chap. 92, 5).

^{*} πρός Ειντελή deleted by earlier editors, restored by fischer.

μετά της λοιπης δυνάμεως την επί θάλασσαν κατάβασιν εποιείτο.

101. "Αμα δε τούτοις πραττομένοις κατά μεν την Ιταλίαν 'Ρωμαίων διαπολεμούντων τον πρός Σαμνίτας πόλεμον συνεχείς εγίνοντο προνομαί της χώρας και πολιορκίαι πόλεων και δυνάμεων έν ύπαίθρω στρατοπεδείαι τὰ γὰρ μαχιμώτατα τῶν κατά την Ιταλίαν έθνων περί ηγεμονίας φιλοτιμού-2 μενα παντοίους συνίσταντο κινδύνους. οί μέν ούν των 'Ρωμαίων υπατοι μέρος της δυνάμεως άναλαβόντες άντεστρατοπέδευσαν ταις των πολειμων παρεμβολαίς και πρός μέν μάχην καιρον επετήρουν οίκειον, ταις δε συμμαχίσι πόλεσι παρείχοντο την 3 ασφάλειαν. το δε λοιπον στρατόπεδον αναλαβών Κόιντος Φάβιος, δς ήν αὐτοκράτωρ ήρημένος, τήν τε Φρεγελλανών πόλιν είλε και των αλλοτρίως διακειμένων πρός την 'Ρώμην τους επιφανεστάτους εξώγρησεν. τούτους δε τον αριθμόν όντας πλείους των διακοσίων απήγαγεν είς Ρώμην καί προαγαγών είς την άγοραν ραβδίσας έπελέκησε κατά το πάτριον έθος. μετ' ολίγον δε εμβαλών είς την των πολεμίων χώραν Καλατίαν και την Νωλάνων ακρόπολιν έξεπολιόρκησεν και λαφύρων μέν πλήθος απέδοτο, τοις δε στρατιώταις πολλήν της χώρας κατεκληρούχησεν. ὁ δὲ δημος, κατά νοῦν

* των πολεμίων Rhodoman : των Ρωμαίων.

¹ αντεστρατοπέδευσαν Dindorf: κατεστρατοπέδευσαν RX,

Φρεγελλανών Scaliger, Φρέγελλαν ζάνεκτήσατο και τήν Σωρλανών Burger: Φρετομανών RN, Φρετεμανών F.
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BOOK XIX. 100, 7-101, 3

made the march down to the sea with the rest of his mane,

army.1

101. While this was taking place, in Italy 2 the Romans were carrying on their war with the Samnites, and there were repeated raids through the country, sieges of cities, and encampments of armies in the field, for the two most war-like of the peoples of Italy were struggling as rivals for the supremacy and meeting in conflicts of every sort. Now the Roman consuls with part of the army had taken a position in the face of the encampments of the enemy and were awaiting an opportune time for battle while at the same time furnishing protection to the allied cities. With the rest of the army Quintus Fabius,3 who had been chosen dictator, captured the city of the Fregellani and made prisoners the chief men among those who were hostile to the Romans. These to the number of more than two hundred he took to Rome; and, bringing them into the Forum, he beat them with rods and beheaded them according to the ancestral custom.4 Soon afterwards, entering the hostile territory, he took by siege Calatia and the citadel of Nola; and he sold a large amount of spoil but allotted much of the land to his soldiers. The

Continued in chap. 105.

2 Continued from chap. 76. 5. Cp. Livy, 9, 29.

4 For punishment more majorum cp. Suetonius, Nero,

49. 2.

In Livy (9. 28. 1-6) it is a dictator named C. Poetilius who captured Fregeliae, and either the same dictator or C. Junius Bubulcus, one of the consuls, who took Nola. For the dictatorship of Fabius two years earlier cp. chap. 72. 6-7, and Livy, 9. 24. 1.

⁴ Kalaríar Cluverius (ep. Livy, 9. 28. 6) : sai leiar RX, sellas F.

των πραγμάτων αὐτῷ προχωρούντων, ἀποικίαν απέστειλεν είς την νήσον την Ποντίαν καλουμένην. 102. Έν δε τη Σικελία της ειρήνης άρτι γεγενημένης 'Αγαθοκλεί πρός τους Σικελιώτας πλήν Μεσσηνίων οι μεν φυγάδες των Συρακοπίων ήθροίσθησαν είς την Μεσσήνην, ταύτην όρωντες λοιπήν οδσαν των άλλοτρίως έχουσων πρός του δυνάστην, 2 δ δ' Αγαθοκλής σπεύδων αὐτών καταλύσαι τό σύστημα Πασίφιλου στρατηγου έξαπέστειλε μετά δυνάμεως είς την Μεσσήνην, εντειλάμενος εν απορ-3 ρήτοις ά χρή πράττευ. ούτος δε άπρουδοκήτως έμβαλών είς την χώραν και πολλών αίχμαλώτων καί της άλλης λείας έγκρατης γενόμενος ήξίου τους Μεσσηνίους βούλεοθαι την φιλίαν και μη συνανι αγκάζεσθαι τοις πολεμιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ διαλύεσθαι. οί δε Μεσσήνιοι λαβόντες ελπίδας του χωρίς κινδήνων απολυθήσεσθαι του πολέμου τούς το φυγάδας τούς έκ Συρακουσσών εξέβαλον και τον 'Αγαθοκλέα 5 παραγενόμενον μετά δυνάμεως προσεδέξαντο. ό δέ το μέν πρώτον φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς προπεφέρετο καὶ τούς φυγάδας έπεισεν καταδέξασθαι τούς συστρατευομένους μεν αὐτῷ, πεφυγαδευμένους δέ 6 νόμω ύπο των Μεσσηνίων. μετά δε ταθτα τούς έναντιουμένους έν τοῖς έμπροαθεν χρόνοις τῆ δυναστεία μεταπεμψάμενος έκ τε Ταυρομενίου καί της Μεσσήνης απαντας απέσφαξεν, ούκ ελάττους 7 όντας έξακοσίων διανουύμενος γάρ πύλεμον εκφέ-

¹ Bouleagas ... Stalveogas. Mulvig suggests Stalveogas την φιλίαν και μή συνεξετάξεσθαι τοις πολεμιωτάταις αυτού, συστρατευομένους Dindorf: στρατευομένους,

¹ The modern Ponza, one of the group of small islands off the west coast of Italy opposite the Circeian promontory,

people, since matters were progressing according at a.c. to their will, sent a colony to the island that is called Pontia.

102. In Sieily, where peace had just been established between Agathocles and the Sicilians except the Messenians,3 the exiles of Syracuse gathered in Messenê since they saw that this was the only city remaining of those that were hostile to the dynast; but Agathocles, who was eager to break up their group, sent Pasiphilus with an army to Messene as general, telling him in secret instructions what he should do. Pasiphilus, entering the region unexpectedly and gaining possession of many prisoners and much other booty, urged the Messenians to choose friendship with him and not be forced to seek terms in common with his bitterest foes. The Messenians, gaining hope of a bloodless termination of the war, expelled the Syracusan exiles and welcomed Agathocles when he came near with his army. At first he treated them in a friendly manner and persuaded them to receive back the exiles who were in his army, men who had been legally banished by the Messenians. But then he brought together from Tauromenium and Messenê those who had previously been opposed to his rule and put them all to death, being no less than six hundred in number : for his intention was to wage war on the Carthaginians.

² Continued from chap. 72. 2.

In chap. 71. 6 Messene is included among the cities that

made peace with Agathocles.

Cp. Livy, 9, 28, 7-8. Italian affairs are continued in chap. 105, 5.

⁴ Or, following Madvig's reading: "urged the Messenians to dissolve their friendship and not not be counted among his hitterest fore."

ρειν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πᾶν τὸ διακείμενον άλλοτρίως κατά την Σικελίαν έκ ποδών εποιείτα. οί δέ Μεσσήνιοι των ξένων τούς εὐνουστάτους αὐτοῖς και δυναμένους άμινασθαι του τύραννον εκβεβληκότες εκ της πόλεως και των πολιτών τούς άλλοτρίως έχοντας πρός του δυνάστην όρωντες άνηρημένους, έτι δέ τους έπὶ κακουργία καταδεδικασμένους ήναγκασμένοι καταδέξαυθαι μετεμέλουτο μεν επί τοις πεπραγμένοις, ήναγκάζουτο δέ καρτερείν, καταπεπληγμένοι την ύπεροχήν των 8 κρατούντων. ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής το μέν πρώτον ανέζευξεν επ' 'Ακράγαντος, διανοούμενος καὶ ταύτην την πόλιν συσκευάσασθαι τών δε Καρχηδονίων καταπλευσάντων ναυσίν έξηκοντα ταύτης μέν της προθέσεως απέστη, την δε χώραν την ύπο Καργηδονίους επιών ελεηλάτει και των φρουρίων α μεν ήρει κατά κράτος, α δε δι' όμολογίας προσήγετο.

103. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πρασσμένοις Δεινυκράτης δ τῶν Συρακοσίων φυγάδων ἡγούμενος πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διεπέμπετο, βοηθεῖν ἀξιῶν πρὶν ἢ τὸν 'Αγαθοκλία πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν ποιήσασθαι 2 Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ προσδεξάμενος τοὺς ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐκβεβλημένους φυγάδας, ἔχων άδρὰν δύναμιν, ἀπέστειλέν τινα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Νυμφόδωρον, δοὺς μέρος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν Κεντοριπίνων 3 πόλιν ταύτην γὰρ φρουρουμένην ὑπ' 'Αγαθοκλέους τῶν πολιτικῶν τινες ἐπηγγείλαντο παραδώσειν, ἐφ' ὅτω τὴν αὐτονομίαν δοθῆναι τῷ δήμω. παρεισπε-

and he was getting rid of all opposition throughout of her Sicily. When the Messenians had driven out of the city those non-citizens who were most favourably disposed to them and best able to protect them from the tyrant, and saw that those of their own citizens who were opposed to the dynast had been put to death, and when, moreover, they had been forced to receive back men who had been convicted of crime, they regretted what they had done; but they were forced to submit, since they were completely cowed by the superior power of those who had become their masters. Agathocles first set out for Acragas, intending to organize that city also in his own interest; when, however, the Carthaginians sailed in with sixty ships, he abandoned that purpose; but he entered the territory subject to the Carthagluians and plundered it, taking some of the fortified places by force and winning others by negotiation.

103. While this was taking place, Deinocrates, the leader of the Syraeusan exiles, sent a message to the Carthaginians, asking them to send aid before Agathocles should bring all Sicily under his sway; and he himself, since he had a strong army after receiving those exiles who had been driven out of Messene, dispatched one of his friends, Nymphodorus, with part of the soldiers to the city of the Centoripind. Although this city was garrisoned by Agathocles, some of its chief men had promised to betray it on condition that the people be given autonomy. But when Nymphodorus broke into the

Centoripa is a city in the interior of Sielly, south-west

of Actna and north-west of Calama.

An old friend of Agathoeles, he had been spared when the tyrant first established himself in power (chap. 8. 6); we do not hear of the occasion of his exile.

σόντος δ' είς την πόλιν αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς οἱ προεστῶτες της φρουράς αἰσθόμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτόν τε τὸν Νυμφόδωρον ἀνείλον καὶ τοὺς βιαζομένους ἐντὸς 4 τοῦ τείχους. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ῦφορμῆς λαβόμενος ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς ἐνεκάλεσέ τε τοῖς Κεντοριπίνοις καὶ τούς δόξαντας αίτίους γεγονέναι τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ πάντας ἀπέσφαξε. περί ταθτα δ' ὔντος τοῦ δυνάστου Καρχηδόνιοι καταπλεύσαντες είς του μέγαν λιμένα των Συρακοσίων πεντήκοντα σκάφεσιν άλλο μέν οὐδέν ήδυνήθησαν πράξαι, δυσί δέ περιπεσόντες φορτηγοίς πλοίοις έξ 'Λθηνών, τὰ μέν κατέδυσαν, των δ' επιπλεόντων τὰς χειρας ἀπέε κοψαν. δοξάντων δ' αὐτῶν ώμῶς κεχρησθαι μηδ' ότιοῦν άδικοῦσι ταχύ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπεσήμαινέν εύθυ γάρ του στόλου τινές νήςς άποσχισθείσαι περί την Βρεττίαν εάλωσαν υπό των Αγαθοκλέους στρατηγών και το παραπλήσιον οί ζωγρηθέντες των Φοινίκων επαθον οίς επραξαν eis τους αλόντας.

104. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δεινοκράτην ψυγάδες, ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μέν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους δισχιλίων, τὴν καλουμένην Γαλερίαν κατελάβοντο, τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκουσίως ἐπικαλεσαμένων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ᾿Αγαθοκλέους ἐξέβαλον, 2 αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσαν. ᾿Αγαθοκλέους δὲ ταχέως ἀποστείλαντος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Πασίφιλον καὶ Δημόφιλον μετὰ στρατιωτῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἐγένετο μάχη πρὸς τοὺς ψυγάδας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Δεινοκράτης καὶ Φιλωνίδης, τὰ κέρατα

¹ εξ 'Αθηνών, τὰ μέν (icer, τὴν μέν ζάγορὰν κομέζουσιν) εξ 'Αθηνών Fischer in apparatus: τὴν μέν ἐξ 'Αθηνών.
2 ols Hertlein: ola.

city by night, the commanders of the garrison, per-stance ceiving what had taken place, slew both the man himself and those who pressed fiercely on within the walls. Seizing upon this opportunity, Agathocles brought accusations against the Centoripini and slaughtered all who were thought to have been guilty of the sedition. While the dynast was thus engaged, the Carthaginians sailed into the great hurbour of Syracuse with fifty light boats. They were able to do nothing more, but falling upon two merchant ships from Athens, they sank the ships themselves and entoff the hands of the crews. They had clearly treated with crucity men who had done them no harm at all, and the gods quickly gave them a sign of this; for immediately, when some of the ships were separated from the fleet in the vicinity of Brettia, they were captured by the generals of Agathoeles, and those of the Phoenicians who were taken alive suffered a fate similar to that which they had inflicted upon their captives.

104. The exiles who were with Deinocrates, having more than three thousand foot-soldiers and not less than two thousand mounted men, occupied the place called Galeria, the citizens of their own free will inviting them; and they exiled the followers of Agathoeles, but they themselves encamped before the city. When, however, Agathoeles quickly dispatched against them Pasiphilus and Demophilus with five thousand soldiers, a battle was fought with the exiles, who were led by Deinocrates and Philo-

¹ The exact location is not known.
2 For his later trenchery and death op. Book 20, 77, 2; 90, 2.

διειληφότες. εφ' ίκανον μεν ούν χρόνου ισόρροπος ήν ο κίνδυνος, φιλοτίμως αμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων αγωνιζομένων τοῦ δ' έτέρου τῶν στρατηγών Φιλωνίδου πεσόντος καὶ τοῦ κατά τοῦτον μέρους τραπέντος ήναγκάσθη καὶ Δεινοκράτης άποχωρήσαι. οί δε περί τον Πασίφιλον τούτων τε πολλούς κατά την φυγήν άνείλον και την Γαλερίαν άνακτησάμενοι τους αίτίους της αποστάπεως έκό-3 λασαν. 'Αγαθοκλής δε πυνθανόμενος τοὺς Καρχηδονίους του "Εκνομον καλούμενον λόφων εν τη Γελώα κατειληφέναι, διέγνω πάση τη δυνάμει διαγωνίσασθαι. όρμήσας δ' επ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πλησίου γενόμενος προεκαλείτο είς μάχην, επηρμένος τή 4 προγεγενημένη νίκη. οὐ τολμώντων δε τών βαρ-βάρων παρατάξασθαι νομίσας ἀκονιτὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ύπαίθρων επανήλθεν είς τὰς Συρακούσσας καὶ των ναών τους επιφανεστάτους τοις σκύλοις εκόσμησεν.

Ταθτα μέν οθν επράχθη κατά τοθτον τον ενιαυτόν

ών ήμεις έδυνήθημεν εφικέσθαι.

105. 'Επ' ἄρχοντος δ' 'Λθήνησι Σιμωνίδου 'Γωμαΐοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Μάρκον Οὐαλλέριον καὶ Πόπλιον Δέκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσίμαχον διαλύσεις ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς 'Λντίγονον καὶ συνθήκας ἔγραψαν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἢν Κάσανδρον μὲν εἶναι στρατηγὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης μέχρι ᾶν 'Λλέξανδρος ὑ ἐκ 'Ρωξάνης εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθη, καὶ Λυσίμαχον μὲν τῆς Θράκης κυριεύειν, Πτολεμαΐον δὲ τῆς Λἰγύπτου καὶ τῶν συνοριζουσῶν ταύτη πόλεων κατί τε τὴν Λιβύην καὶ τὴν 'Αραβίαν, 'Αντίγονον δὲ ἀφηγεῖ-

nides, each in command of a wing. For some time 312 p.c. the conflict was evenly balanced, both of the armies fighting with zest; but when one of the generals, Philonides, fell and his part of the army was put to flight, Deinocrates also was forced to withdraw. Pasiphilus killed many of his opponents during the flight and, after gaining possession of Galeria, punished those guilty of the uprising. Agathocles, on hearing that the Carthaginians had seized the hill called Ecnomus in the territory of Gela, decided to fight them to a finish with his whole army. When he had set out against them and had drawn near, he challenged them to battle since he was clated by his previous victory. But the barbarians not venturing to meet him in battle, he assumed that he now completely dominated the open country without a fight and went off to Syracuse, where he decorated the chief temples with the spoils.1

These are the events of this year that we have

been able to discover.

105. When Simonides was archon in Athens, the surce. Romans elected to the consulship Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius.² While these held office, Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus came to terms with Antigonus and made a treaty. In this it was provided that Cassander be general of Europe until Alexander, the son of Roxanê, should come of age; that Lysimachus rule Thrace, and that Ptolemy rule Egypt and the cities adjacent thereto in Libya and Arabia; that Antigonus have first place in all Asia;

Continued in chap. 106.

^{*} Simonides was archon in 311/10 s.c. In the Fasti the consuls of 312 s.c. arc M. Valerius Maximus and P. Decius Mus (*UIL*, 1, p. 130; cp. Livy, 9, 28, 8). The narrative is continued from chap. 100. 7.

σθαι της 'Λσίας πάσης, τους δέ "Ελληνας αύτονόμους είναι. οὐ μὴν ἐνέμεινάν γε ταις ὁμολογίαις ταύταις, άλλ' εκαστος αὐτῶν προφάσεις εὐλύγους 2 ποριζόμενος πλεονεκτείν επειράτο. Κάσανδρος δέ όρων 'Αλέξανδρον τον έκ 'Ρωξάνης αθξάμενον καί κατά την Μακεδονίαν λόγους ύπό τινων διαδιδομένους ότι καθήκει προάγειν έκ της φυλακής του παίδα και την πατρώαν βασιλείαν παραδούναι. φοβηθείς ύπερ επυτού προσέταξε Γλαυκία το προεστηκότι της του παιδός φυλακής την μεν 'Γωξάνην καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κατασφάξαι καὶ κρίψαι τὰ σώματα, το δέ γεγονός μηδενί των άλλων είπαγγείλαι. 3 ποιήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ προσταχθέν οι περί Κάσανδρον και Λυσίμαχου και Πτολεμαίου, έτι δ' Αντίγουον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως 4 προσδοκωμένων φύβων οὐκέτι γαρ όντος οὐδενὸς τοῦ διαδεξομένου την άρχην το λοιπον εκαστος των κρατούντων έθνων η πόλεων βασιλικάς είχεν έλπίδας και την ύφ' έαυτον τεταγμένην χώραν είχεν ώσανεί τινα βασιλείαν δυρίκτητον.

Τὰ μέν οὖν κατὰ τὴν 'Λσίαν' καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν

Ελλάδα και Μακεδονίαν εν τούτοις ήν.

5 Κατά δε την 'Ιταλίαν 'Ρωμαΐοι δυνάμεσιν άδραῖς πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Πολλίτιον, Μαρρουκίνων οῦσαν πόλιν. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ἀποικίαν καὶ κατώκισαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην 'Ιντέραμναν.

¹ και την Ευρώπην after 'Acias amitted by Geer.

BOOK XIX, 105, 1-5

and that the Greeks be autonomous. However, they sunc. did not abide by these agreements but each of them. putting forward plausible excuses, kept seeking to increase his own power. Now Cassander perceived that Alexander, the son of Roxane, was growing up and that word was being spread throughout Macedonia by certain men that it was fitting to release the boy from custody and give him his father's kingdom; and, fearing for himself, he instructed Glaucias,1 who was in command of the guard over the child, to murder Roxane and the king and conceal their bodies, but to disclose to no one else what had been done. When Glancias had carried out the instructions, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, and Antigonus as well, were relieved of their anticipated danger from the king; for henceforth, there being no longer anyone to inherit the realm, each of those who had rule over nations or cities entertained hopes of royal power and held the territory that had been placed under his authority as if it were a kingdom won by the spear.

This was the situation in Asia and in Greece and

Macedonia.

In Italy 3 the Romans with strong forces of foot and horse took the field against Pollitium, a city of the Marrueini. They also sent some of their citizens as a colony and settled the place called Interamna.

² Continued in Book 20, 19,

¹ This Glaucias, who is not to be identified with the Glaucias of chaps, 67, 6 and 70, 7, had been placed in charge of the guard by Cassander (chap. 52, 4). For the murder of Alexander and Roxanê cp. Justin, 15, 2, 5; Pausanias, 9, 7, 2.

Continued from chap. 101. 3. Cp. Livy. 9. 28. 6. Diodorus returns to Roman affairs in Book 20, 26, 3.

106. Κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξομένου 'Αγαθοκλέους και δυνάμεις άδροτέρας άθροίζοντος Καρχηδόνιοι πυνθανόμενοι τον δυνάστην συσκευαζόμενον τὰς ἐν τῆ ιτίθω πόλεις ταις δὲ δυνάμεσιν ύπερέγοντα των σφετέρων στρατιωτών 2 εδοξαν ενεργέστερον άψασθαι τοῦ πολέμου. εὐθὺς ούν τριήρεις μέν κατήρτησαν τριάκοντα πρός ταίς έκατον, στρατηγόν δέ προχειρισάμενοι των παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτων ᾿Λμίλκαν ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τῷν μέν πολιτικών στρατιωτών διαχιλίους, εν οίς ήσαν πολλοί και των επιφανών, των δ' από της Λιβύης μυρίους, έκ δέ της Τυρρηνίας μισθοφόρους χιλίους και ζευγίππας διακοσίους, έτι δε Βαλιάρας σφενδονήτας χιλίους, όμοίως δε χρημάτων πλήθυς και βελών και σίτου και των άλλων των είς πόλεμον 3 χρησίμων την καθήκουσαν παρασκευήν. αναχθέντος δ' έκ της Καρχηδόνος τοῦ στόλου παντός καὶ γενομένου πελαγίου χειμών εξαίφνης επιπεσών έξήκοντα μέν τριήρεις ήφάνισε, διακόσια δε τών σιτηγών πλοίων διέφθειρεν ό δε λοιπός στάλος μεγάλοις περιπεσών χειμώσι μόλις διεσώθη πρός 4 την Σικελίαν. ἀπώλοντο δέ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Καρχηδονίων οὐκ όλίγοι, δι' οῦς συνέβη την πόλιν δημόσιον άρασθαι πένθος ειώθασι γάρ, επειδάν μείζων τις άτυχία γένηται περί την πόλιν, μέλαπι 5 σακκίοις κατακαλύπτειν τὰ τείχη. 'Αμίλκας δ' ό στρατηγός άναλαβών τούς διασωθέντας έκ του χειμώνος μισθοφόρους συνήγε και των κατά Σικελίαν συμμάχων εστρατολόγει τους ευθέτους.

1 Zevyéras Reiske.

² Continued from chap. 104. 4. Cp. Justin, 22. 3. 9. 120

BOOK XIX, 106, 1-5

106. In Sicily, where Agathoeles was constantly sit se. increasing in power and collecting stronger forces, the Carthaginians, since they heard that the dynast was organizing the cities of the island for his own ends and that with his armed forces he surpassed their own soldiers, decided to wage the war with more energy. Accordingly they at once made ready one hundred and thirty triremes, chose as general Hamiltar," one of their most distinguished men, gave him two thousand citizen soldiers among whom were many of the nobles, ten thousand men from Libya, a thousand mercenaries and two hundred zeugippace from Etruria, a thousand Baliaric slingers, and also a large sum of money and the proper provision of missiles, food, and the other things necessary for war. After the whole fleet had sailed from Carthage and was at sea, a storm fell suddenly upon it, sank sixty triremes, and completely destroyed two hundred of the ships that were carrying supplies. The rest of the fleet, after encountering severe storms, with difficulty reached Sicily in safety. Not a few of the Carthaginian nobles were lost, for whom the city instituted public mourning; for it is their custom whenever any major disaster has befallen the city, to cover the walls with black sackcloth. Hamilear, the general, gathered together the men who had survived the storm, enrolled mercenaries, and enlisted those troops of the Sicilian allies

Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 42, 1, 189, places this campaign in the early summer of 310 B.C.

* The son of Gisco, not to be confused with the Hamilear

of chaps, 71, 6, 72, 2, who was now dead.

If the text is sound, we must suppose the otherwise unknown zeugippae to be horsemen who had each an extra horse, like the ἀμφιπποι of chap. 29. 2; but perhaps we should read ζευγίνας, heavy armed infantry.

παρέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰς προϋπαρχούσας δυνάμεις καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς πόλεμον εὐθέτων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενος ἐν ὑπαίθρω συνείχε τὰ στρατόπεδα, πεζοὺς μὲν ἔχων περὶ τοὺς τετρακισμυρίους ὑππεῖς δὲ σχεδὸν πεντακισχιλίους. ταχὺ δὲ τὴν γεγενημένην ἀτυχίαν διορθωσάμενος καὶ δόξας ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸςὶ εἶναι τῶν μὲν συμμάχων τὰς ψυχὰς προκαταπεπληγμένας ἀνεκτήσατο, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐ τὴν

τυχοβσαν άγωνίαν ἐπέστησεν. 107. 'Αγαθοκλής δε τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεις όρων ύπερεχούσας των έαυτου διέλαβε των τε φρουρίων ούκ ολίγα μεταθήπεσθαι πρός τούς Φοίνικας καὶ των πόλεων όσαι προσέκοπτον αὐτῷ. 2 μάλιστα δ' εὐλαβεῖτο περὶ τῆς τῶν Ι'ελώων, πυνθανόμενος έν τῆ τούτων χώρα πάσας είναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις. εγένετο δ' αὐτιο περί τοῦτον του χρόνου και περί του στύλου οὐ μικρου ελάσσωμα· των γάρ νεων είκοσιν επί τὸν πορθμόν ύποχείριοι τοις Καρχηδονίοις κατέστησαν σύν αὐ-3 τοις ἀνδράσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κρίνας τὴν τῶν Γελώων πόλιν ἀσφαλίσασθαι φρουρά, φανερώς οὐκ ἐτόλμα δύναμιν εἰσαγαγείν, ἴνα μὴ φθάσαι συμβή τούς Γελώους προφάσεως δεομένους και την πόλιν αποβάλη μεγάλας αφορμάς αὐτῷ παρεχομένην. 4 απέστειλεν ούν κατ' όλίγους των στρατιωτών ώς έπί τινας χρείας, έως ότου συνέβη τῷ πλήθει πολύ προτερήσαι των πολιτικών. μετ' όλίγον δέ καί αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος προδοσίαν ενεκάλεσε καὶ μετάθεσιν τοις Γελώσις, είτε και κατ' αλήθειαν αὐτῶν διανοηθέντων τι πράξαι τοιοῦτον, εἴτε καὶ 199

who were fit for service. He also took over the forces in Ke, that were already in Sicily and, having attended to all things expedient for war, mustered his armies in the open country, about forty thousand foot-soldiers and nearly five thousand mounted men. Since he had quickly rectified the misfortune that he had suffered and won the reputation of being a good general, he revived the shattered spirits of his allies and presented

no ordinary problem to his enemies.

107. As Agathoeles saw that the forces of the Carthaginians were superior to his own, he surmised that not a few of the strongholds would go over to the Phoenicians, and also those of the cities that were offended with him. He was particularly concerned for the city of the Geloans since he learned that all the forces of the enemy were in their hand. At about this time he also suffered a considerable naval loss, for at the straits twenty of his ships with their crews fell into the hands of the Carthaginians. Deciding nevertheless to make the city of Gela scenre with a garrison, he did not venture to lead an army in openly lest the result be that the Geloans, who were looking for an excuse, forestall him and he lose the city, which provided him with great resources.1 He therefore sent in his soldiers a few at a time as if for particular needs until his troops far surpassed those of the city in number. Soon he himself also arrived and charged the Geloans with treason and desertion, either because they were actually planning to do something of this sort, or because he was

¹ Cp. chap. 71, 6 for the treaty between Agathocles and Gela.

a orparnyos added by Reiske.

ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς φυγάδων πεισθεὶς ἢ καὶ χρημάτων βουλόμενος εὐπορῆσαι, καὶ ἀπέσφαξε τῶν
Γελώων πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀνέλαβε. προσεταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις Γελώοις πᾶσι τὰ τε νομίσματα καὶ τὸν
ἄσημον ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν ἀνειεγκεῖι, διαπειλησάμενος τιμωρήσαυθαι τοὺς ἀπειβήσαντας. ταχὶ
δὲ πάντων πραξάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν διὰ τὸι ψόβοι
χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἤθροισε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ταττομένοις ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν δεινὴν ἐνεποίησε κατάπληξιι.
δόξας δ' ὡμότερον κεχρῆσθαι τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῦς
Γελώοις τοὺς μὲν ἀποσφαγέντας εἰς τὰς ἐκτὺς τῶν
τειχῶν τάφρους συνέχωσεν, ἐν δὲ τῆ πόλει τὴν
ἰκανὴν φρουρὰν ἀπολιπὼν ἀντεστρατοπέδενος τοῦς
πολεμίοις.

108. Κατείχον δε Καρχηδόνιοι μεν τον Εκνημον λόφον, δυ φασι φρούριου γεγενήσθαι Φαλάριδος. Εν τούτω δε λέγεται κατεσκευακέναι του τύραννον ταθρου χαλκουν του διαβεβοημένου, πρός τας των βεβασανισμένων τιμωρίας υποκαισμένου τοῦ κατασκευάσματος. διο και τον τόπον Εκνημου ἀπό τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ἀσεβείας προσηγορευθου ἀπό τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ἀσεβείας προσηγορευθου Θαλάριδος γεγενημένων φρουρίων κατείχε, τὸ προσαγορευθεν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Φαλάριον. και δια μέσων μεν τῶν παρεμβολών ἦν ποταμός, ῶν ἀμφότεροι πρόβλημα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεποίηντο, φῆμαι δὲ κατείχον ἀπό τῶν προτέρων χρόνων ὅτι δεῖ περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐν μάχη

¹ wal added by Bekker.

and Hertlein: ini.

¹ Literally, "Lawless." In Book 13, 90, 4-7, Diodorus 124

persuaded by false charges made by exiles, or again attue, because he wished to gain possession of wealth; and he slew more than four thousand of the Geloans and confiscated their property. He also ordered all the other Geloans to turn over to him their money and their uncoined silver and gold, threatening to punish those who disobeyed. Since all quickly carried out the command because of fear, he gathered together a large amount of money and caused a dreadful panic among all who were subject to him. Being thought to have treated the Geloans more cruelly than was proper, he heaped together in the ditches outside the walls those who had been slain; and, leaving behind in the city an adequate garrison, he took the field against the enemy.

108. The Carthaginians held the hill Economy, which men say had been a stronghold of Phalaris. Here it is reported that the tyrant had constructed the bronze bull that has become famous, the device being heated by a fire beneath for the torment of those subjected to the ordeal; and so the place has been called Economys! because of the impiety practised upon his victims. On the other side Agathoeles held another of the strongholds that had belonged to Phalaris, the one which was called Phalarium after him. In the space between the encamped armies was a river, which each of them used as a defence against the enemy; and sayings from earlier times were current that near this place a great number of men were destined to perish in

claims that he himself had seen the brazen bull, which Hamilear had taken to Carthage (about 480 s.c.) and Scipio Acadianus had brought back to Acragas after the sack of Carthage. Cp. also Book 20, 71, 3.

a The Himeras.

διαφθαρήναι. οὐκ ὄντος δὲ φανεροῦ παρ' ὁποτέροις γενήσεται το ατύχημα, συνέβαινε δεισιδαιμονείν τα στρατόπεδα καὶ πρός μάχην όκνηρῶς ἔχειν. 3 διόπερ επὶ πολύν χρόνον οὐδέτεροι του ποταμών ετόλμων διαβαίνειν άθρόοις στρατιώταις ζως ότου παράλογός τις αίτία προεκαλέσατο αὐτοὺς είς τὸν όλοσχερή κίνδυνον. των γάρ Λιβύων κατατρεχόντων την πολεμίαν 'Αγαθοκλής παρωξύνθη το παραπλήσιον ποιήσαι. αγόντων δε λείαν των Έλλήνων και τινα των από της παρεμβολής ύποζυγίων απαγαγόντων ἐπεξήλθον ἐκ τοῦ Καρχηδονίων χάρακος 4 οί τούτους διώξουτες. ὁ δ' 'Αγαθακλής προίδόμενος το μέλλον εσεσθαι παρά τον ποταμόν εθηκεν ένέδραν ανδρών επιλέκτων ταις αρεταίς. ούτοι δέ, των Καρχηδονίων τούς την λείαν άγοντας έπιδιωκόντων και διαβάντων τον ποταμόν, εξανέστησαν έκ της ένέδρης άφνω και προσπεσόντες ατάκτοις ς ραδίως ετρέψαντο. φονευομένων δε των βαρβάρων και πρός την ιδίαν παρεμβολήν φευγόντων 'Λγαθοκλής, νομίσας ήκειν τον καιρόν τοῦ διαγωνίσασθαι, πάσαν ήγαγε την δύναμιν επί την των προσπεσών δ' αύτοις πολεμίων στρατοπεδείαν. άπροσδοκήτως και ταχύ μέρος τῆς τάφρου χώσας ανέσπασε τον χάρακα και βιαζόμενος είς την παρο εμβολήν παρεισέπεσεν. οί δε Καρχηδόνιοι διά το τὸ παράδοξον καταπεπληγμένοι και πρός εκταξιν ου δυνάμενοι λαβείν αναστροφήν, ώς έτυχε τοίς πολεμίοις απήντων και ήγωνίζοντο. περί δε την τάφρον αμφοτέρων ερρωμένως κινδυνουόντων ταχύ πας ο πλησίον τόπος νεκρών κατεστρώθη οί το γάρ των Καρχηδονίων επιφανέστατοι την παρεμβολήν όρωντες άλισκομένην έβοήθουν, οι τε περί 126

battle. Since, however, it was not clear to which sit ac. of the two sides the misfortune would happen, the armies were filled with superstitious fear and shrank from battle. Therefore for a long time neither dared to cross the river in force, until an unexpected cause brought them into general battle. The raids made by the Libyans through the enemy's country aroused Agathoeles into doing the same; and while the Greeks were engaged in plundering and were driving away some beasts of burden taken from the Carthaginlan camp, soldiers issued from that encampment to pursue them. Agathocles, foreseeing what was about to happen, placed beside the river an ambush of men selected for courage. These, as the Carthaginians crossed the river in their pursuit of those who were driving the heasts, sprang suddenly from the ambush, fell upon the disordered soldiers, and easily drove them back. While the barbarians were being slaughtered and were fleeing to their own camp, Agathocles, thinking that the time had come to fight to a finish, led his whole army against the camp of the enemy. Falling on them unexpectedly and quickly filling up a part of the moat, he overthrew the palisade and forced an entrance into the camp. The Carthaginians, who had been thrown into a panic by the unexpected attack and could find no opportunity for forming their lines, faced the enemy and fought against them at random. Both sides fought fiercely for the moat, and the whole place round about was quickly covered with dead; for the most notable of the Carthaginians rushed up to give aid when they saw the camp being taken,

του 'Αγαθοκλέα τῶ προτερήματι τεθαρρηκότες καί νομίζοντες ένὶ κινδύνω καταλύσειν πάντα τὸν

πόλεμον ενέκειντο τοις βαρβάροις.

109. 'Ο δ' 'Αμίλκας όρων κατισχυομένους τους έαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ελλήνων ἀςὶ πλείους παρεισπίπτυντας είς την παρεμβολήν επέστησε τούς σφενδοιτίτας τους έκ των Βαλιαρίδων νήσων, όντας ούκ 2 έλάττους των χιλίων. ούτοι δε συνεχείς και μεγάλους λίθους αφιέντες πολλούς μέν ετραυμάτιζου ούκ ολίνους δέ και των βιαζομένων απέκτεινου, των δέ πλείστων τὰ σκεπάζοντα των υπλων συνέτριβον οί γάρ ανδρες ούτοι μυπιαίους λίθους βάλλειν είωθότες μεγάλα συμβάλλονται πρός νίκην εν τυίς κινδύνοις, ώς αν έκ παίδων παρ' αὐτοῖς της εν ταις 3 σφενδόναις γυμνασίας διαπονουμένης, τούτω δέ τω τρόπου τους Ελληνας έκ της παρεμβολής έκβαλόντες εκράτησαν. πάλιν δε οί περί του 'Αναθοκλέα κατ' άλλους τύπους προσβολάς έποιούντο καί δή της παρεμβολής ήδη κατά κράτος άλισκομένης κατέπλευσε τοις Καρχηδονίοις δύναμις έκ 4 Λιβύης ἀνέλπιστος. διὸ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς πάλιν θαρρήσαντες οί μέν έκ της παρεμβολής κατά στόμα εκινδύνευον, οί δε παρόντες επί την βυήθειαν κύκλο περώσταντο τους "Ελληνας. ών τιτρωσκομένων παραδόξως ή μέν μάχη ταχύ παλίντροπος έγένετο, έφευγον δ' οί μεν είς τον Ιμέραν πυταιτόν, οί δ' είς την παρεμβολήν. τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους δ' έχούσης της αποχωρήσεως και ταθτα σχεδον πάσης πεδινής ούσης επεδίωκον οι τών βαρβάρων ίππεις, ούκ έλασσον όντες πεντακισχιλίων. διὸ καὶ συνέβη

BOOK XIX, 108, 6-109, 4

and the forces of Agathoeles, encouraged by the all no advantage gained and believing that they would end the whole war by a single battle, pressed hard upon the barbarians.

109. But when Hamilear saw that his men were being overpowered and that the Greeks in constantly increasing numbers were making their way into the camp, he brought up his slingers, who came from the Baliarie Islands and numbered at least a thousand. By hurling a shower of great stones, they wounded many and even killed not a few of those who were attacking, and they shattered the defensive armour of most of them. For these men, who are accustomed to sling stones weighing a minu, contribute a great deal toward victory in battle, since from childhood they practise constantly with the sling. In this way they drove the Greeks from the camp and defeated them. But Agathocles continued to attack at other points, and indeed the camp was already being taken by storm when unexpected reinforcements from Libya arrived by water for the Carthaginians. Thus again gaining heart, those from the camp fought against the Greeks in front, and the reinforcements surrounded them on all sides. Greeks were now receiving wounds from an unexpected quarter, the battle quickly reversed itself; and some of them fled into the Himeras River, others into the camp. The withdrawal was for a distance of forty stades 2; and since it was almost entirely over level country, they were hotly pursued by the barbarian cavalry, numbering not less than five thousand.

¹ Not quite a pound.

² About 41 miles.

^{1 8&#}x27; added by Dindorf.

τον μεταξύ τόπον νεκρών πληρωθήναι, πολλά συμβαλλομένου καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προς τὴν τῶν δ Κλλήνων ἀπώλειαν ὑπὸ κύνα γὰρ οὕσης τῆς ὥρας καὶ τοῦ διωγμοῦ περὶ μέσον ἡμέρας γινομένου οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν φευγόντων διά τε τὸ καῦμα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς κακοπάθειαν ἔκδιψοι γιγνύμενοι λάβρως ἔπινον, καὶ ταῦθ ἀλυκοῦ τοῦ ρεύματος ὅντος. διύπερ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ σφαγέντων εὐρέθησαν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τετελευτηκότες ἄτρωτοι. ἔπεσον δ' ἐν τῆ μάχη ταύτη τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων περὶ πεντακοσίους, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων οὐκ

έλάττους έπτακισχιλίων.

110. 'Αγαθοκλής δε τηλικαύτη συμφορά περιπεσών τούς έκ της τροπης διασωθέντας ανέλαβεν καί την παρεμβολήν εμπρήσας είς Γέλαν απεχώρησε. διαδύντος δ' αὐτοῦ λόγον τος κατά σπουδήν είς Συρακούσσας αναζευγνύειν διέγνωκε, τριακύσιοι των εκ Λιβύης ίππεων κατά την χώραν περιέπεσον τισι των 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατιωτών. ων εἰπόντων ώς 'Αγαθοκλής είς Συρακούσσας αποκεχώρηκεν, είσηλθον είς Γέλαν ώς φίλοι και διαψευσθέντες της 2 έλπίδος κατηκοντίσθησαν. ό δ' Άγαθοκλής συνέκλεισεν αύτον είς την Γέλαν, ούκ άδυνατών είς Συρακούσσας διασωθήναι, βουλύμενος δε περισπάσαι τούς Καρχηδονίους πρός την πολιορκίαν της Γέλας, ϊν' οι Συρακόσιοι πολλήν άδειαν σχώσι συγκομίσαι τους καρπούς, αναγκάζουτος του και-3 ροῦ, ὁ δ' 'Αμίλκας τὸ μέν πρώτον ἐπεχείρει πολιορκείν την Γέλαν, πυνθανόμενος δε εν ταύτη και δύναμιν είναι την άμυνομένην και πάντων εὐπορείν τον 'Αγαθοκλέα ταύτης μεν απέστη της επιβολής, τα δε φρούρια και τας πόλεις επιπορευόμενος 180

As a result the space between was filled with dead; and the river itself contributed greatly to the destruction of the Greeks. Since it was the season of the Dog Star and since the pursuit took place in the middle of the day, most of the fugitives became very thirsty because of the heat and the distress caused by the flight and drank greedily, and that too although the stream was salt. Therefore no fewer men than those killed in the pursuit itself were found dead beside the river without a wound. In this battle about five hundred of the barbarians fell, but of the Greeks no less than seven thousand.

110. Agathoeles, having met with such a disaster, collected those who had survived the rout and after burning his camp withdrew into Gela. After he had given it out that he had decided to set out quickly for Syracuse, three hundred of the Libyan cavalry fell in with some of the soldiers of Agathocles in the open country. Since these said that Agathocles had departed for Syracuse, the Libyans entered Gela as friends, but they were cheated of their expectations and shot down. Agathocles, however, shut himself up in Gela, not because he was unable to go safely to Syracuse, but because he wished to divert the Carthaginians to the siege of Gela in order that the Syraeusans might quite fearlessly gather in their crops as the season demanded. Hamilear at first attempted to besiege Gela, but discovering that there were troops in the city defending it and that Agathocles had ample supplies of all kinds, he gave up the attempt; instead, by visiting the fortresses and cities, he won them over and treated all

¹ Cp. Vitruvius, 8, 3, 7. From its natural saltiness, the river gets its modern name, "Salso."

προσήγετο καὶ πᾶσιν έχρῆτο φιλανθρώπως, ἐκκαλούμενος τοὺς Σικελιώτας πρὸς εὕνοιαν. καὶ Καμαριναῖοι μὲν καὶ Λεοντῖνοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Καταναῖοι καὶ Ταυρομενῖται παραχρῆμα πρέσβεις

Καταναΐοι και Ι αυρομενίται παραχρημα πρεσβεις δ κπέμψαντες προσέθεντο Καρχηδονίοις: μετ' όλίγας δ' ήμέρας οι τε Μεσσήνιοι και 'Αβακαινίνοι' και συχναί τῶν πόλεων ἀλλήλας φθάνουσαι πρὸς 'Αμίλκαν ἀφίσταντο: τοσαύτη τοῖς ὅχλοις ἐνέπεσεν ὅρμὴ μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν τύραινον μίσος.

8 δ δ' Αγαθοκλης ἀπαγαγώνε την ὑπολελειμμένην δύναμιν εἰς Συρακούσσας τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἀπό τῆς χώρας σῖτον ἀπεκόμιζε, διανοούμενος τῆς μὲν πόλεως τὴν ἱκαιὴν ἀπολιπεῖν φυλακήν, τῆς δὲ δυνάμεως τὴν κρατίστην μετάγειν εἰς Λιβύην καὶ μετατιθέναι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῆς νήσου.

Ήμεις δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῆ πρόθεσιν τὴν εἰς Λιβύην ᾿Αγαθοκλέους διάβασιν ἀρχὴν ποιησύμεθα

της έπομένης βίβλου.

¹ 'Αβακαινίνοι Cluver: 'Αβακηνίνοι RX, Βακίνειοι F. ⁸ ἀπαγαγών Rhodoman: ἀπολιπῶν.

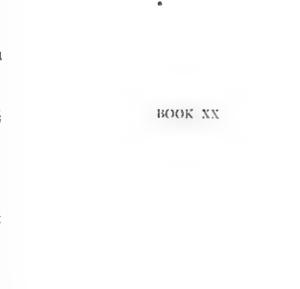
BOOK XIX, 110, 3-5

the people with kindness, seeking to win the goodwill an ac. of the Sicilians. And the people of Camarina and Leontini, also those of Catana and Tauromenium, at once sent embassies and went over to the Carthaginian; and within a few days Messene and Abacacnum and very many of the other cities vied with each other in deserting to Hamilear, for such was the desire that came upon the common people after the defeat because of their hatred of the tyrant. But Agathocles conducted what survived of his army to Syracuse, repaired the rained parts of the walls, and carried off the grain from the countryside, intending to leave an adequate garrison for the city, but with the strongest part of his army to cross to Libya and transfer the war from the island to the continent.

But we, following the plan laid down at the beginning, will make Agathoeles' expedition into Libya the beginning of the following book.

¹ Cp. chap. 1. 10.





Τάδε ένεστιν εν τη είκοστη των Διοδώρου βίβλων

'Ως Αγαθυκλής διαβάς ελς Διβίσην ενίκησεν παρατάξει

Καρχηδονίους και πολλών πόλεων έκυρίευσεν.

Ως Κάσανδρος Αδδυλέωντι μέν έβωήθησε, πρώς ώς Πτολεμαίον τον Αντιγόνου στρατηγών αποστάτην γενώ μενον συμμαχίαν έποιήσατο.

'Ως Πτολεμαίος μέν των περί Κιλικίαν πόλεων τινος

είλε, Δημήτριος δ' ά 'Αντιγύνου ταύτας άνεκτήσατο.

'Ως Πολυπέρχων μέν 'Πρακλέα των έκ Βαρετίνης έπεχείρησε κατάγειν έπὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν, Πτολεμαίος δὲ Νικοκρέοντα των βασιλέα των Παφίων ἐπανείλατο.

Περί τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν μὲν τῷ Βοιπάριο τοῦς βαιτιλεθτιν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἱταλίαν Ῥοιμαίοις καὶ Σαμνίταις.

Πτολεμαίου στρατεία ἐπὶ Κελικίαν καὶ τὴν έξης παραθαλάττων.

Πρακλέους άναίριστε ύπο Πολυπέρχουτος.

'Αμάλκου τοῦ ιτημτηγοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονάων άλωπις ὑπό Συρακοσίων.

'11s 'Ακραγαντίνοι τούς Σικελιώτας έλευθερούν έπε. χείρησαν.

'Ως των Συρακοντίων είκοσε ναθς ήλωσαν.

¹ In chap. 21 this king is called Nicocles, probably incorrectly.

a In chap. 32. 5 only ten ships are captured.

CONTENTS OF THE TWENTIETH BOOK OF DIODORUS

How Agathorles crossed into Libya, defeated the Carthaginians in a battle, and became master of many cities (chaps. 3-18).

How Cossander went to the aid of Audoleon; and how he made an alliance with Ptolemaeus, Antigonus'

general, who had become a rebel (chap. 19).

How Ptolemy took some of the cities of Cilicia, and how Antigonus' son Demetrius recovered them

(chap. 19).

How Polyperchon attempted to bring Heracles, the son of Barsine, back to his ancestral kingdom; and how Ptolemy made away with Nicocreon, the king of Paphos (chaps. 20-21).

Concerning the actions of the kings in the Bosporus, and of the Romans and Samnites in Italy (chaps. 22-

26).

The campaign of Ptolemy against Cilicia and the adjacent coast (chap. 27).

Assassination of Heracles by Polyperchon (chap. 28).

Capture of Hamilear, the general of the Carthaginians, by the Syracusans (chaps. 29-30).

How the people of Acragas attempted to liberate

the Sicilians (chap. 31).

How they captured twenty ships of the Syracusans (chap. 32).

Περί τῆς ἐν Λιβύη γενομένης στάσεως καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Άγαθοκλέα.

Περί των πραχθέντων Αππίο Κλανδός κατά την

τιμητικήν ἀρχήν.

Παράδοσις Κορίνθον και Σικνώνως Πτυλεμαίο.

Κλεοπάτρας εν Σάρδεστιν άναίρεστις.

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλής Καρχηδονίους μεν ενίκησεν μάχη, τον δε δυνάστην της Κυρήνης 'Οφέλλαν μεταπεμψάμενος επί κοινοπραγίαν κατέσφαζεν, και την μετά τούτου δύναμεν παρέλαβεν.

'Ως Καρχηδόνιου Βορμίλκαν επιθέμενου τυμαννίδι κατ-

iluran.

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλέους άποπέρφαυτος είς Σικελίαν τὰ

λάφυρα τινά του πλοίων έναινίγησεν.

'Ως Γωμαίοι Μαρσοίς μεν πυλεμουρένοις έπα Σαμνιτών εβοήθησαυ, εν δε τη Τυρρηνία Κάπριαν εξεπολιάρκησαν.

Δημητρίου τοῦ πολιορκητοῦ κατάπλοις εἰς τὸν Πειραιά

καὶ τῆς Μουνυχίας άλωσις.

'Ελευθέρωσες 'Αθηναίων και Μεγαρέων.

Πλούς έπὶ Κύπρον Δημητρίου καὶ μάχη πρώς Μενέλαον τον στρατηγών καὶ Σαλαμίνος πολιορκία.

Ναυμαχία Δημητρίου πρός Πτολεμαίου και νίκη

Δημητρίου,

Παράληψες Κύπρου το πάιτης και της Πτολεμαίου δυνάμεως.

'εις μετά την νέκην ταύτην 'Αυτιγόνου και Δημητρίου περιθεμένων διάδημα ζηλοτιπήσαιτες οι λοιποί δυνώσται βασιλείς έαυτούς άνηγόρευσαν.

Called Cacrium In chap. 44, 9.

¹ Chap. 35 is omitted: campaigns of the Romans in Etruria and Samnium.

CONTENTS OF THE TWENTIETH BOOK

About the revolt that took place in Libya, and the peril of Agathorles (chaps. 53-34).

About the acts of Appius Claudius during his

censorship (chap. 36).

Delivery of Corinth and Sieyon to Ptolemy (chap. 37).

Assassination of Cleopatra in Sardis (chap. 37).

How Agathoeles defeated the Carthaginians in battle; and how, after summoning Ophellas, the tyrant of Cyrene, to co-operate with him, he assassinated him and took over the army that was with him (chaps. 38-12).

How the Carthaginians put down Bormilear, who

had attempted to become tyrant (chaps, 43-44).

How, when Aguthoeles sent the booty to Sicily, some of the ships were wrecked (chap. 11).

How the Romans went to the aid of the Marsi, who were being attacked by the Samuites; and how they took Caprium in Etruria after a siege (chap. 14).

The naval expedition of Demetrius Poliorectes into the Peiraeus, and his capture of Munychia (chap. 45). Liberation of the Atheniaus and the Megarians

(chap. 46).

Voyage of Demetrius to Cyprus, his battle against the general Menelaus, and the siege of Salamis (chaps, 47-48).

Demetrius' naval battle against Ptolemy and

victory of Demetrius (clups. 49-52).

Capture of all Cyprus and of the army of Ptolemy

(chap. 53).

How, because Antigonus and Demetrius assumed the diadem after this victory, the other dynasts, jealous of them, proclaimed themselves kings (chap. 53).

'Ως' Αγαθοκλής 'Ιτύκην έκπολιορκήσας διεβίβασε μέμης της δυνάμεως είς την Σικελίαν.

'Ως 'Ακραγαντίνοι παραταξάμενοι πρώς τοὺς 'Αγαθο-

κλέους στρατηγούς ήττήβηταν.

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλής 'Πράκλειαν μέν καὶ θέρμα καὶ Κεψαλοίδιον πρωτηγάγετο, την δε τῶν 'Απολλωνιατῶν χώραν καὶ πόλιν εξηνδραποδύτατο.

'Ως Αγαθοκλής εν Σικελία ναυμαχία μεν ενίκησε

Καρχηδονίους, μάχη δ' Ακραγαντίνους.

Δαίβασις είς Λιβάην 'Αγαθοκλέους το δεύτερον καὶ ήττα.

Αί γενόμεναι ταμαχαί κατά τά έκατέμων στρατώπεδα,

'Ayabonhions Spentilis eis Linehiar.

Λί γενόμεναι σφαγαί των Σικελιωτών όπο 'Αγαθυκλέονς.

Στρατεία 'Αυτιγόνου βωτιλέων μεγάλων δυνάμεστυ έπ' Λίγυπτου.

'Απώστασις Πασυμίλου στρατηγού όπο 'Αγαθο-

Khéovs.

'Ως Καρχηδώνωι συνέθειτο την είρηνην πρώς 'Αγαθοκλέα.

'Ως 'Ρόδον πολιορκήσας Δημήτριος διελίντατο την πολιορκίων,

'Ως 'Ρωμαΐοι Σαμνίτας δυσί μάχαις ενίκησταν.

'Ως Δημήτριος ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρόδου πλείνιας εἰς τῆν Ελλάδα

της πλείστας πόλεις ήλευθέρωσεν.

'Ως' Αγαθοκλής Αιπαραίους χρήματα αδίκως είσπραξάμενος απέβαλε τὰς ναις εν αις ζε τὰ χρήματα.

1 Chap. 78 omitted: comparison of Agathocles with Dionysius.

The Greek Table of Contents makes no mention of the events related in chap. 80, the Roman raids on Samnium, and in chap. 89, Aguthocles' defeat of Deinocrates in Sielly. 140

CONTENTS OF THE TWENTIETH BOOK

How Agathocles, having besieged and taken Utica, transported part of his troops across into Sicily (chaps. 54-55).

How the people of Acragas took the field against Agathoeles' generals and were defeated (chap. 56).

How Agathoeles won over to himself Heraclea, Therma, and Cephaloedium, but reduced the country and city of the Apolloniates to utter slavery (chap. 56).

How in Sicily Agathocles defeated the Carthaginians in a naval battle and the people of Acragas

in a battle on land (chaps. 57-63).

Agathoeles' crossing to Libya for the second time

and his defeat (chap. 61).

The confusion that arose in the camps of both armies (chaps, 65-70).

Agathoeles' flight to Sicily (chap. 71).

The slaughter of the Sicilians by Agathoeles (chaps. 71-72).

Expedition of King Antigonus against Egypt with

great forces (chaps. 73-76).

Desertion of Pasiphilus, a general, from Agathocles (chap. 77).1

How the Carthaginians made peace with Aga-

thocles (chap. 79).

How Demetrius, after laying siege to Rhodes, abandoned the siege (chaps. 81-88, 91-99).²

How the Romans defeated the Samnites in two

battles (chap. 90).

How Demetrius sailed from Rhodes to Greece and

freed most of the cities (chaps. 100, 102-103).

How Agathocles unjustly exacted money from the Liparaeans and lost the ships in which the money was (chap. 101).

"Ως 'Pωμαΐοι το μέν έθνος των Αϊκλων' κατεπολέμησαν, προς δε τους Σαμνίτας συνέθεντο την ειρήνην.

Τὰ πραχθέντα Κλεωνύρος περίετην Ιταλίαν.

Δι' ας αίτίας οι περί Κάσανδρον και Αυσίμαχου, έτε δε Σέλευκου και Πτολεμαίου συνδραμώντες ει εστήρταντα τον πόλεμου προς Αυτέγονου.

Στρατεία Κασάνδρου μεν έπε Δημήτρουν els Ourqu. λίαν, Ανστράχου δ' els την 'Ασίαν.

'Απόστασες Δοκίμου καὶ Φοίνικος τῶν ατρατηγῶν ἀπ' 'Αντιγόνου,

'Ως 'Αντίγουως αντιστρατοπιδείνους Αυστραίχω πολίπροείχε ταις δυνάμεσεν.

"Ως Δημήτριου του νόου έκ της Έλλούσης μετεπέμψατο.

'Ως Πτολεμαίος μέν έχευμασιατό τὰς πόλεις τὰς εν τή Κοίλη Συμία, Σέλευκος δ' έκ τῶν ἄνω σατημαπειῶν τῆν κατάβασιν ἐποιήσιατο μέχηι Καππαδικίας.

Διάλυντες άπωνών των δυνάμεων είς χειρασίαν.

 Λίκλων Rhodoman: "Λοκλων RX, 'Λοκλών P, ep. chap. 101. 5.

CONTENTS OF THE TWENTIETH BOOK

How the Romans reduced the tribe of the Aecli and made peace with the Samnites (chap. 101).

What Cleonymus did in Italy (chaps. 104-105).

For what reasons Cassander and Lysimachus, and likewise Seleucus and Ptolemy, combined and made war on Antigonus (chap. 106).

Campaign of Cassander into Thessaly against Demetrius, and of Lysimachus into Asia (chap. 107). Revolt of the generals Docimus and Phoenix from

Antigonus (chap. 107).

How Antigonus, taking the field against Lysimachus, was far superior to him in military might (chaps. 108-109).1

How he summoned his son Demetrius from Greece

(chaps. 109, 111).3

How Ptolemy subdued the cities of Coelè Syria; and how Seleucus made an expedition from the upper satrapies as far as Cappadocia (chap. 113).

Dispersion of all the armies for wintering (chap.

113).

¹ Chap. 110 is omitted: the initiation of Demetrius and his campaign against Cassander.

BIBAON EIKONTH

1. Τοίς είς τὰς ἱστορίας ὑπερμήκεις δημηγορίας παρεμβάλλουσιν ή πυκναίς χρωμένους ήητορείαις δικαίως αν τις επιτιμήσειεν ου μόνον γαρ το συνεχές της διηγήσεως διά την ακαιρίαν των επεισαγομένων λόγων διασπώσιν, άλλα και των φιλοτίμος έχόντων πρός την των πράξεων επίγνωσαν μεσυ-2 λαβουσι την επιθυμίαν. καίτοι γε τους επιδείκυυαθαι βουλομένους λόγου δύναμων έξευτι κατ' ίδιαν δημηγορίας και πρεσβευτικούς λόγους, έτι δέ έγκώμια καὶ ψόγους καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα συντάττεσθαι τη γαρ οικονομία των λόγων χρησιιμένοι καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις χωρίς έκατέρας έξεργαπάμενοι κατά λόγον αν έν αμφοτέραις ταις πραγματείαις 8 εὐδοκιμοῖεν. νῦν δ' ἔνιοι πλεονάσαντες ἐν τοῖς άπτορικοῖς λόγοις προαθήκην ἐποιήσαντο την όλην ίστορίαν της δημηγορίας. λυπεί δ' οὐ μόνον τὸ κακώς γραφέν, αλλά και το δοκούν έν τοις άλλοις έπιτετεθχβαι, τόπων καὶ καιρών τῆς οἰκείας τάξεως 4 διημαρτηκός. διό καὶ τῶν ἀναγινωσκύντων τὰς τοιαύτας πραγματείας οι μεν υπερβαίνουσι τάς ρητορείας, καν όλως επιτετεύχθαι δύξωσιν, οί δε διά το μήκος και την ακαιρίαν του συγγραφέως έκλυθέντες τὰς ψυχὰς τὸ παράπαν ἀφίστανται τῆς

BOOK XX

1. One might justly consure those who in their histories insert over-long orations or employ frequent speeches; for not only do they rend asunder the continuity of the narrative by the ill-timed insertion of speeches, but also they interrupt the interest of those who are eagerly pressing on toward a full knowledge of the events. Yet surely there is opportunity for those who wish to display rhetorical prowess to compose by themselves public discourses and speeches for ambassadors, likewise orations of praise and blame and the like; for by recognizing the classification of literary types and by elaborating each of the two by itself, they might reasonably expect to gain a reputation in both fields of activity. But as it is, some writers by excessive use of rhetorical passages have made the whole art of history into an appendage of oratory. Not only does that which is poorly composed give offence, but also that which seems to have hit the mark in other respects yet has gone far astray from the themes and occasions that belong to its peculiar type. Therefore, even of those who read such works, some skip over the orations although they appear to be entirely successful, and others, wearied in spirit by the historian's wordiness and lack of taste, abandon

μεσηλαβούσι την επιθυμίαν added by Wesseling.
γραφέν Dindorf: γράφειν.

δ ἀναγνώσεως, οὐκ ἀλόγως τοῦτο πάσχοντες τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἱστορίας γένος ὑπλοῦν ἐστι καὶ συμφυὲς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐμψύχω σώματι παραπλήμιον, οὖ τὸ μὲν ἐσπαραγμένον ἐστέρηται τῆς ψυχικῆς χάριτος, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν σύνθεσιν ἔχον εὐκαίρως τετήρηται καὶ τῷ συμφυεῖ τῆς ὅλης περιγραφῆς ἐπι-

τερπή και σαφή παρίστησε την ανάγνωσεν.

2. Οὐ μὴν παντελώς γε τούς ρητορικούς λόγους ἀποδοκιμάζουτες εκβάλλομεν εκ τῆς ἱστορικῆς πραγματείας το παράπαν οψειλούσης γάρ της ίστορίας τη ποικιλία κεκοσμησθαι κατ' ένίους τόπους άνάγκη προσλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους - καὶ ταύτης τῆς εὐκαιρίας οὐδ' ἄν ζισιυτὸν ἀποστερήσαι βουληθείην-ωσθ' όταν τά της περιστάσεως άπαιτή προσβευτού ή συμβούλου δημηγορίαν ή των άλλων τι τοιούτον, ό μη τεθαρρηκότως συγκαταβαίνων πρός τούς εν τοις λόγοις αγώνας 2 και αὐτός ὑπαίτιος αν είη. οὐκ ολίγας γὰρ αν τις αίτίας εύροι, καθ' ας κατά πολλά άναγκαίως παραληφθήσεται τὰ τῆς ρητορείας ἢ γὰρ πυλλών είρημένων εὐστόχως καὶ καλῶς οὐ παραλειπτέον δι' όλιγωρίαν τὰ μνήμης ἄξια καὶ τῆ ἱστορία κεκραμένην έχοντα την ωφέλειαν, η μεγάλων και λαμπρών των ύποθέσεων οὐσων οὐ περιορατέον ελάττονα των έργων φανήναι του λόγον έστι δ' ότε παρά προσδοκίαν του τέλους εκβάντος άναγκασθησόμεθα τοίς οίκείοις της υποθέσεως λόγοις γρήσασθαι χάριν του λύσαι την άλογίαν.

3 Αλλά περί μεν τούτων αλις ήμιν εχέτω, περί δε των ύποκειμένων πράξεων ρητέον, παραθέντας πρότερον τοὺς οἰκείους τῆ γραφῆ χρόνους. εν μεν οῦν ταις προηγουμέναις βύβλοις ἀναγεγράφαμεν

the reading entirely; and this attitude is not without reason, for the genius of history is simple and self-consistent and as a whole is like a living organism. If it is mangled, it is stripped of its living charm; but if it retains its necessary unity, it is duly preserved and, by the harmony of the whole composition,

renders the reading pleasant and clear.

2. Nevertheless, in disapproving rhetorical speeches, we do not ban them wholly from historical works; for, since history needs to be adorned with variety, in certain places it is necessary to call to our aid even such passages-and of this opportunity I should not wish to deprive myself -- so that, whenever the situation requires either a public address from an ambassador or a statesman, or some such thing from the other characters, whoever does not boldly enter the contest of words would himself be blameworthy. For one would find no small number of reasons for which on many occasions the aid of rhetoric will necessarily be enlisted; for when many things have been said well and to the point, one should not in contempt pass over what is worthy of memory and possesses a utility not alien to history, nor when the subject matter is great and glorious should one allow the language to appear inferior to the deeds; and there are times when, an event turning out contrary to expectation, we shall be forced to use words suitable to the subject in order to explain the seeming paradox.

But let this suffice on this subject; we must now write about the events that belong to my theme, first setting forth the chronological scheme of our narrative. In the preceding Books we have written of the

¹ oincloss added by Fischer, ep. Book 19, 34, 3,

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτύτων χρόνων τὰς πράξεις τάς το τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἔως ἐπὶ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ᾿Αγαθοκλέους στρατείας εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, εἰς ῆν ἀπὸ Ἱροίας ἀλώσεως ἔτη συν- άγεται τρισὶ πλείω τῶν ὀκτακοπίων ὀγδυήκοντα ἐν ταύτη δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς προστιθέντες τῆς ἱστορίας ἀρξόμεθα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Λιβύην διαβάσεως ᾿Αγαθοκλέους, καταλήξομεν δ᾽ εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καθ᾽ τὸ σὶ βασιλεῖς συμφρονήσαντες κοινῆ διαπαλεμεῖν ἤρξαντο πρὸς ᾿Αντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου, περιλα-

βόντες έτη εννέα.

3. Έπ' άρχουτος γάρ 'Αθήνησιν Ίερομινήμονος Ρωμαΐοι μέν ύπάτους κατέστησαν Γάιον Ιούλιον καὶ Κόιντον Λιμίλιον, κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν 'Αγαθοκλής ήττημένος ύπο Καρχηδονίων τη περί του Ίμέραν μάχη καὶ το πλείστον καὶ κράτιστον της δυνάμεως άποβεβληκώς συνέφυγεν είς τὰς 2 Συρακούσσας. όρων δε τούς τε συμμάχους απαντας μεταβεβλημένους και τους βαρβάρους πλήν Συρακουσσών απάσης σχεδον Σικελίας κυριεύοντας και πολύ προέχοντας ταις τε πεζικαις και ναυτικαις δυνάμεσιν επετελέσατο πράξιν ανέλπιστον και παρα-3 βολωτάτην. πάντων γαρ διειληφότων μηδ' έγχειρήσειν αὐτον τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἀντιταχθήναι, διενοήσατο της μέν πόλεως απολιπείν την Ικανήν φυλακήν, των δε στρατιωτών τους ειθέτους επιλέξαι καὶ μετά τούτων είς την Λιβύην διακομιαθήναι τούτο γάρ πράξας ήλπιζε τούς μεν έν τη Καρχηδόνι τετρυφηκότας έν ειρήνη πολυχρονίω και διά τουτ' ἀπείρους όντας των έν ταις μάχαις

⁴ An error for \$73. Cp. Book 19, 1, 10,

BOOK XX, 2, 3-3, 3

deeds of both the Greeks and the barbarians from the earliest times down to the year before Agathocles' Libyan campaign; the years from the sack of Troy to that event total eight hundred and eighty-three.¹ In this Book, adding what comes next in the account, we shall begin with Agathocles' crossing into Libya, and end with the year in which the kings, after reaching an agreement with each other, began joint operations against Antigonus, son of Philip, embracing

a period of nine years.

3. When Hieromnemon was archon in Athens, the 310 p.c. Romans elected to the consulship Gaius Julius and Quintus Aemilius 2; and in Sicily Agathocles, who had been defeated by the Carthaginians in the battle at the Himeras River and had lost the largest and strongest part of his army, took refuge in Syracuse. When he saw that all his allies had changed sides and that the barbarians were masters of almost all Sicily except Syracuse and were far superior in both land and sea forces, he carried out an undertaking that was unexpected and most reckless. For when all had concluded that he would not even try to take the field against the Carthaginians, he determined to leave an adequate garrison for the city, to select those of the soldiers who were fit, and with these to cross over into Libya. For he hoped that, if he did this, those in Carthage, who had been living luxuriously in long-continued peace and were therefore without experience in the dangers of battle, would

² Hieromnemon was archon in 310/09 s.c. In the Fasti the consuls of 311 s.c. are C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus for the third time and Q. Aemilius Barbula for the second (CIL, 1, p. 130; cp. Livy, 9. 30. 1). The narrative is continued from Book 19. 110. 5. For the first part of the African campaign, cp. Justin, 22. 4-6; Orosius, 4. 6. 23-29.

κινδύνων ύπο των ἐνηθληκότων τοῖς δεινοῖς ῥαδίως ἡττηθήσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ Λιβύην συμμάχους, βαρυνομένους τοῖς προστάγμασεν ἐκ πυλλῶν χρόνων, λήψεσθαι καιρὸν τῆς ἀποστάσεως, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, διαρπάσειν ἀπροσδυκήτως ἐπιφανεὶς χώραν ἀπόρθητον καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων εὐδαιμονίαν πεπληρωμένην παντοίων ἀγαθῶν, τὸ δὸ ὅλον ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πάσης Σικελίας περισπάσειν τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον μετάξειν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ὅπερ καὶ συνετελέσθη.

1. Την γάρ επίνοιαν ταύτην οδδενί των φίλων δηλώσας της μεν πάλεως επιμελητήν "Αντανδρον τον άδελφου κατέστησε μετά της ίκανης φυλακης. αύτος δε τών στρατιωτών επιλέγων τους ευθέτους κατέγραφε, τοῦς μεν πεζοῦς παραγγέλλων ετοίμους είναι μετά τών υπλων, τοις δ' ίππευσι διακελευόμενος έχειν μεθ' έαυτων χωρίς της πανυπλίας ύπηρέσιον καὶ χαλινόν, ὅπως, ὅταν ἴππων κυριεύση, τούς αναβησομένους έτσιμους έχειν, τα πρός την 3 χρείαν έξηρτυμένους κατά γάρ την προγεγενημένην ήτταν των μέν πεζών απωλώλεισαν οι πλείους, οί δ' ίππεις ύπηρχον διασεσωσμένοι σχεδύν απαντες, ών τους εππους ουκ ήδυνατο διακομίζειν είς την 3 Λιβύην. ΐνα δε χωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ μη νεωτερίζωσιν οί Συρακόσιοι, διεζεύγνυε τὰς συγγενείας άπ' άλλήλων και μάλιστα άδελφούς ἀπ' άδελφων καὶ πατέρας ἀπὸ παίδων, τοὺς μέν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως

¹ He was probably an older brother; in 317 s.c. he was 150

BOOK XX, 3, 3-4, 3

easily be defeated by men who had been trained in 210 p.c. the school of danger; that the Libyan allies of the Carthaginians, who had for a long time resented their exactions, would grasp an opportunity for revolt; most important of all, that by appearing unexpectedly, he would plunder a land which had not been ravaged and which, because of the prosperity of the Carthaginians, abounded in wealth of every kind; and in general, that he would divert the barbarians from his native city and from all Sicily and transfer the whole war to Libya. And this last, indeed, was

accomplished.

4. Disclosing this intention to none of his friends, he set up his brother Antander 1 as curator of the city with an adequate garrison; and he himself selected and enrolled those of the soldiers who were fit for service, bidding the infantry be ready with their arms, and giving special orders to the cavalry that, in addition to their full armour, they should have with them saddle-pads and bridles, in order that, when he got possession of horses, he might have men ready to mount them, equipped with what was needed for the service; for in the earlier defeat the greater part of the foot-soldiers had been killed, but almost all the horsemen had survived uninjured,3 whose horses he was not able to transport to Libya. order that the Syracusans might not attempt a revolution after he had left them, he separated relatives from each other, particularly brothers from brothers and fathers from sons, leaving the one group

one of the Syracusan generals in the war with the Bruttii, and Agathocles was only a chiliarch (Book 19. 3. 3). He later wrote a biography of Agathocles (Book 21. 16. 5).

2 Agathocles' losses in the battle at the Himeras River are

given in Book 19, 109, 5 as not less than 7000 men.

4 απολείπων, τους δε μεθ' έαυτοῦ διακομίζων πρόδηλου γάρ ήν εύς οἱ μένοντες έν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις, καν άλλοτριώτατα τυγγάνωσι πρός τον δυνάστην διακείμενοι, διά την πρός τους απογόνους εύνοιαν ούδεν αν πράξειαν ατοπον κατά 'Αγαθοκλέους. 5 ἀπορούμενος δὲ χρημάτων τά τε τῶν ὀρφανῶν παρὰ των επιτροπευόντων είσεπράξατο, φάσκων πολύ βέλτιον εκείνων επιτροπεύσειν και τοις παισίν είς ήλικίαν ελθούσι πιστότερον αποδώσειν, έδανείσατο δέ και παρά των έμπόρων και τινα των έν τοις ίεροις αναθημάτων έλαβεν και των γυναικών του δ κόσμον περιείλετο. επειθ' όριδν τῶν εὐποριοτίττον τούς πλείστους δυσχεραίνοντας τοίς πραττομένοις καὶ πρός αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριώτατα διικειμένους συνήγαγεν εκκλησίαν, εν ή περί τε της προγεγενημένης συμφοράς καὶ τῶν προσδοκωμένων δεινῶν κιιτοδυρόμενος αὐτός μεν ραδίως ὑπομενεῖν εφησε την πολιορκίαν συνήθης ών πάση κακοπαθεία, έλεεζο δέ τούς πολίτας, εί συγκλεισθέντες άναγκασθήσουται 7 πολιορκίαν ύπομένειν. διεκελεύετο οθν σώζειν έαυτούς μετά των ίδίων κτήσεων τούς μη βουλομένους ύπομένειν ο τι ποτ' αν δοκή τή τύχη πάσχειν. έξορμησάντων δ' έκ της πόλεως των μάλιστ' εὐπόρων καὶ μισούντων τον δυνάστην τούτους μέν έπαποστείλας τινάς των μισθυφόρων ανείλε και τάς 8 οὐσίας είς αὐτὸν ἀνέλαβε, διὰ δὲ μιᾶς ἀνοσίου πράξεως χρημάτων εὐπορήσας και των άλλοτρίως διακειμένων πρός αὐτὸν καθαράν ποιήσας την πόλιν ηλευθέρωσε των οίκετων τους ευθέτους είς στραreiav.

in the city and taking the others across with him; sin u.c. for it was clear that those who remained in Syracuse, even if they were most ill disposed toward the tyrant, because of their affection for their relatives would do nothing unbecoming against Agathocles. he was in need of money he exacted the property of the orphans from those who were their guardians, saying that he would guard it much better than they and return it more faithfully to the children when they became of age; and he also borrowed from the merchants, took some of the dedications in the temples, and stripped the women of their jewels. Then, seeing that the majority of the very wealthy were vexed by his measures and were very hostile to him, he summoned an assembly in which, deploring both the past disaster and the expected hardships, he said that he himself would endure the siege easily because he was accustomed to every manner of hardship, but that he pitied the citizens if they should be shut in and forced to endure a siege. He therefore ordered those to save themselves and their own possessions who were unwilling to endure whatever fortune might see fit that they should suffer. But when those who were wealthiest and most bitter against the tyrant had set out from the city, sending after them some of his mercenaries, he killed the men themselves and confiscated their property. When, through a single unholy act, he had gained an abundance of wealth and had cleared the city of those who were opposed to him, he freed those of their slaves who were fit for military service.

διακείμενοι added by Dindorf, ep. § 6.
² καὶ after ὁρῶν omitted by Fischer.

^{*} ὑπομενεῖν Dindorf: ὑπομένειν MSS, followed by Fischer.

5. 'Ως δ' εὐτρεπη πάντ' ήν, πληρώσας έξήκουτα ναθς επετήρει καιρον οίκειον πρός τον έκπλουν. άγνοουμένης δε της επινοίας αὐτοῦ τινές μεν είς την Ιταλίαν υπελάμβανον αυτόν στρατεύειν, τινές δέ πορθήσειν της Σικελίας την ύπο Καρχηδονίους, πάντες δε απεγίνωσκον των εκπλείν μελλόντων την σωτηρίαν καὶ τοῦ δυνάστου τὴν μανίαν κατεγί-2 νωσκον. έφορμούντων δε των πολεμίων πολλαπλασίαις τριήρεσι το μέν πρώτον εφ' ήμερας τινάς ηναγκάζετο συνέχειν έν ταίς ναυσί τούς στρατιώτας, οὐ δυναμένους έκπλεθσαι έπειτα δέ σιτηγών πλοίων τη πόλει πρυσθεύντων οι μεν Καρχηδόνιοι παντί τῷ στόλω πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἀνήχθησαν, ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής ἀπελπίζων ήδη την ἐπιβολήν, ώς ίδεν τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος έρημον τῶν ἐψορμούντων, 3 εξέπλευσεν όξείαις ταις είρεσίαις χρώμενος. είθ οί μεν Καρχηδόνιοι πλησίον ήδη των φυρτηγών όντες, ώς ίδον τους πολεμίους άθρόαις ταις ναυσί πλέοντας, το μεν πρώτον ύπολαβόντες αὐτον ώρμηκέναι πρός την των σιτηγών βοήθειαν, ανέστρεφον καί τον στόλον εξήρτυον είς ναυμαχίαν της δ' ζπ' εύθείας έώρων παραθέοντας και πολύ του πλού 4 προλαμβάνοντας, εποιούντο τον διωγμόν. ένθα δή τούτων πρός άλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων τὰ μέν την άγοραν κομίζοντα πλοΐα παραδόξως εκφυγόντα του κίνδυνον πολλήν εὐπορίαν ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις των επιτηδείων, σιτοδείας ήδη την πόλιν έχούσης, ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής περικατάληπτος ήδη γινόμενος επιλαβούσης της νυκτός ανελπίστου σω-5 τηρίας έτυχεν. τη δ' ύστεραία τηλικαύτην εκλειψιν

¹ ἡναγκάζετο ουνέχεω Wesseling, ἡνάγκάζε σ. έαυτούς l'ischer: ἡνάγκαζε συνέχειν.

BOOK XX. 5, 1-5

5. When everything was ready, Agathocles manned 310 8.0. sixty ships and awaited a suitable time for the voyage. Since his purpose was unknown, some supposed that he was making an expedition into Italy, and others that he was going to plunder the part of Sicily that was under Carthaginian control; but all despaired of the safety of those who were about to sail away and condemned the prince for his mad folly. But since the enemy was blockading the port with triremes many times more numerous than his own, Agathoeles at first for some days was compelled to detain his soldiers in the ships since they could not sail out; but later, when some grain ships were putting in to the city, the Carthaginians with their whole fleet made for these ships, and Agathocles, who already despaired of his enterprise, as he saw the mouth of the harbour freed of the blockading ships, sailed out, his men rowing at top speed. Then when the Carthaginians, who were already close to the cargo vessels, saw the enemy sailing with their ships in close order, assuming at first that Agathoeles was hastening to the rescue of the grain ships, they turned and made their fleet ready for battle; but when they saw the ships sailing straight past and getting a long start of them, they began to pursue. Thereupon, while these were contending with each other, the ships that were bringing grain, unexpectedly escaping the danger, brought about a great abundance of provisions in Syracuse, when a scarcity of food was already gripping the city; and Agathocles, who was already at the point of being overtaken and surrounded, gained unhoped-for safety as night closed in. On the next day there occurred such an eclipse of the

ήλίου συνέβη γενέσθαι ώστε όλοσχερώς φανήναι νύκτα, θεωρουμένων των αστέρων πανταχού διόπερ οί περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα, νομίσαντες καὶ το θείου αύτοις προσημαίνειν το δυσχερές, έτι μαλλον ύπερ

τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐν ἀγωνία καθειστήκεισαν. 6. "Εξ δ' ήμέρας και τὰς ἴσας νύκτας αὐτών πλευσάντων ύποφαινούσης της ζω παραδόξως ό στόλος των Καρχηδονίων ούκ απωθεν ων έωράθη. διόπερ αμφοτέροις έμπεσούσης σπουδής ήμιλλώντο προς άλληλους ταις είρεσίαις, οί μεν Φοίνικες νομίζοντες άμα τη των νεων άλώσει Συρακούσσας μέν ύποχειρίους έξειν, την δέ πατρίδα μεγάλων έλευθερώσειν κινδύνων οί δ' Ελληνες, εί μη φθάσειαν 2 της χώρας άψάμενοι, προκειμένην δώρων πύτοις μέν τιμωρίαν, τοις δε καταλειφθείσην έν οίκου τά της δουλείας δεινά. καθυρωμένης δε της Λιβύης παρακελευσμός έγίνετο τοις πληρώμασι και φιλυτιμίας ύπερβολή και τάχιον μεν επλεον αι των βαρβάρων, εν πολυχρονίω μελέτη των ερετών διαπεπονημένων, ίκανὸν δὲ διάστημα προςίχον αί τῶν Έλλήνων. ὀξύτατα δέ τοῦ πλοῦ διανυσθέντος. έπειδή πλησίον εγενήθησαν της γης, συνεξέπιπτον άλλήλοις είς τον αίγιαλον ώσπερεί τινες άγωνισταί. 3 ταις γὰρ ἐσχάταις τῶν 'Αγαθοκλέους αἱ πρώται

των Καρχηδονίων ενέβαλλον έντος βέλους ουπαι. διόπερ επ' όλίγον χρόνον τοις τε τόξοις και σφενδόναις διαγωνισαμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ναυσὶν όλίγαις τῶν

¹ διόπερ Dindorf : διό παρ'.

August 15, 310 B.c., ep. Beloch, Gricolische Geschichtes, J. 1. 190. Calculations of the course of this eclipse indicate

sun that utter darkness set in and the stars were seen sio B.C. everywhere '; wherefore Agathoeles' men, believing that the prodigy portended misfortune for them, fell

into even greater anxiety about the future.2

6. After they had sailed for six days and the same number of nights, just as day was breaking, the fleet of the Carthaginians was unexpectedly seen not far away. At this both fleets were filled with zeal and vied with each other in rowing, the Carthaginians believing that as soon as they destroyed the Greek ships they would have Syracuse in their hands and at the same time free their fatherland from great dangers; and the Greeks foreseeing that, if they did not get to land first, punishment was in store for themselves and the perils of slavery for those who had been left at home. When Libya came into sight, the men on board began to cheer and the rivalry became very keen; the ships of the barbarians sailed faster since their crews had undergone very long training, but those of the Greeks had sufficient lead. The distance was covered very quickly, and when the ships drew near the land they rushed side by side for the beach like men in a race; indeed, since they were within range, the first of the Carthaginian ships were sending missiles at the last of those of Aga-Consequently, when they had fought for a short time with bows and slings and the barbarians had come to close quarters with a few of the Greek

that Agathoeles must have sailed north around Sicily (Cary

in Cambridge Ancient History, 7, 625).

² According to Justin, 22. 6.2, he explained away the omen to his men, saying that if it had happened before the expedition started it would have portended evil to them, but since it took place after the sailing it foretold misfortune for their enemies.

βαρβάρων συμπλακέντων οί περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα προετέρουν, το των στρατιωτών έχοντες πλήθος. είθ' οί μεν Καρχηδόνιοι πρύμναν ανακρουσάμενοι μικρόν έξω βέλους έφώρμουν, ο δ' Αγαθοκλής αποβιβάσας την δύναμιν προς τὰς καλουμένας Αλλουρίας καὶ χάρακα βαλόμενος ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς

θάλατταν ενεώλκησε τὰς ναθς.

7. Ούτω δε παράβολον επιτελεσάμενος πράξιν, άλλην ετόλμησε ταύτης μάλλων κεκινδυνευμένην, παραστησάμενος γάρ τους έν ήγεμονίαις όντας εύπειθείς πρός την ίδίαν επιβολήν και θυσίαν ποιησάμενος Δήμητρι και Κόρη συνήγαγεν εκκλησίων 2 κάπειτα προελθών επί την δημηγορίων εστεφανωμένος εν ίματίω λαμπρώ και προδιαλεχθείς οίκείως τοις έγχειρουμένοις έφησε ταις κατεχούσαις Σικελίαν βεαίς Δήμητρι και Κόρη πεποιήσθαι, καθ' ών καιρόν εδιώχθησαν ύπο Καρχηδονίων, εύχας λαμπα-3 δεύσειν άπάσας τὰς ναῦς. καλώς ούν έχειν τετευχότας της σωτηρίας αποδιδόναι τας ευχάς. άντι δε τούτων επηγγελλετο πολλαπλασίους αποδώσειν προβύμως αὐτῶν ἀγωνισαμένων καὶ γὰρ τάς θεάς διά των ιερών προσημαίνειν νίκην τοῦ 4 σύμπαντος πολέμου. αμα δε ταθτα λέγοντος αὐτοθ των υπηρετών τις προσήνεγκεν ήμμενην δάδα. ήν δεξάμενος και τοις τριηράρχοις όμοίως απασι προστάξας άναδουναι τώς τε θεάς επεκαλέσατο καί πρώτος ώρμησεν έπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη στάς δ' επί την πρύμμαν και τοις άλλοις το παραπλήσιου ποιείν παρεκελεύετο. ένθα δή των τριηράρχων

¹ i.e. the Quarries; probably near Cape Bon, the ancient Promuntorium Mercurii, cp. Strabo, 17, 3, 16.

ships, Agathoeles got the upper hand since he had \$10 m.c. his complement of soldiers. At this the Carthaginians withdrew and lay offshore a little beyond bowshot; but Agathoeles, having disembarked his soldiers at the place called Latomiae 1 and constructed

a palisade from sea to sea, beached his ships.

7. When he had thus carried through a perilous enterprise, Agathocles ventured upon another even more hazardous. For after surrounding himself with those among the leaders who were ready to follow his proposal and after making sacrifice to Demeter and Corê, he summoned an assembly; next he came forward to speak, crowned and clad in a splendid himation, and when he had made prefatory remarks of a nature appropriate to the undertaking,3 he declared that to Demeter and Corê, the goddesses who protected Sicily, he had at the very moment when they were pursued by the Carthaginians vowed to offer all the ships as a burnt offering. Therefore it was well, since they had succeeded in gaining safety, that they should pay the vow. In place of these ships he promised to restore many times the number if they would but fight boldly; and in truth, he added, the goddesses by omens from the victims had foretold victory in the entire war. While he was saying this, one of his attendants brought forward a lighted torch. When he had taken this and had given orders to distribute torches likewise to all the ship captains, he invoked the goddesses and himself first set out to the trireme of the commander. Standing by the stern, he bade the others also to follow his example. Then as all the captains threw in the fire

² Justin, 22. 5-6, gives the substance of a long oration, which he ascribes to Agathoeles on this occasion.

άπάντων ενέντων το πυρ και ταχύ της φλογος είς ύψος άρθείσης οἱ μεν σαλπιγκταὶ τὰ πολεμικον εσήμαινον, τὸ δε στρατόπεδον επηλάλαξε, συνευγομένων απάντων ύπερ της είς οίκον σωτηρίας. 5 τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξεν 'Αγαθοκλής μάλιστα μέν ένεκα τοῦ συναναγκάσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τοῖς κινδύγάρ ότι της έπι τάς ναθς καταφυγής αποκοπείσης έν μόνω τω νικών έξουσι τως έλπίδας της σωτηρίας. επειτα και δύναμιν όλίγην έχων έθεώρει διότι φυλάσσων μέν τὰς ναθς ἀναγκασθήσεται μερίζειν τὸ στρατόπεδον και μηδαμώς άξιόμαχος είναι, καταλιπών δ' ερήμους ύποχειρίους ποιήσει γενέσθαι

Καργηδονίοις.

8. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν νεῶν άπασῶν φλεγομένων καί του πυρός πολύν επέχοντος τόπον εκπληξις κατείχε τους Σικελιώτας. Εν άρχη μεν γάρ ύπο της 'Αγαθοκλέους γοητείας παραλογιαθέντες καί τής των εγχειρουμένων δξύτητος αναθεώρησιν οὐ διδούσης πάντες συγκατετίθεντο τοίς πραττομένοις. τοῦ δὲ χρόνου τὸν περὶ ἐκάστων ἀναλογισμὸν παριστάντος είς μεταμέλειαν ενέπιπτον και το μέγεθος του διείργοντος πελάγους άναλογιζόμενοι την 2 σωτηρίαν ἀπεγίνωσκου. δ δ' Αγαθοκλής σπεύδων απαλλάξαι της άθυμίας τους στρατιώτας ήγε την δύναμεν επί την ονομαζομένην Μεγάλην πόλεν, 3 οδσαν Καρχηδονίων. ή δ' άνα μέσον χώρα, δι' ης ην άναγκαΐον πορευθήναι, διείληπτο κηπείαις καί παντοίαις φυτουργίαις, πολλών ύδάτων διωχετευμένων και πάντα τόπον αρδευόντων. αγροικίαι τε συνεχείς υπήρχον, οἰκοδομαίς πολυτελέσι καὶ κονιάμασι διαπεπονημέναι και τον των κεκτημένων 160

and the flames quickly blazed high, the trumpeters sto me. sounded the signal for battle and the army raised the war-cry, while all together prayed for a safe return home. This Agathoeles did primarily to compel his soldiers in the midst of dangers to have no thought at all of flight; for it was clear that, if the retreat to the ships was cut off, in victory alone would they have hope of safety. Moreover, since he had a small army, he reasoned that if he guarded the ships he would be compelled to divide his forces and so be by no means strong enough to meet the enemy in battle, and if he left the ships without defenders, he would put them into the hands of the Cartha-

ginians.

8. Nevertheless, when all the ships were affame and the fire was spreading widely, terror laid hold upon the Sicilians. Carried away at first by the wiles of Agathoeles and by the rapidity of his undertakings, which gave no time for reflection, all acquiesced in what was being done; but when time made possible detailed consideration, they were plunged into regret. and as they considered the vastness of the sea that separated them from home, they abandoned hope of safety. Agathoeles, however, in an effort to rid his soldiers of their despondency, led his army against the place called Megalepolis, a city of the Carthaginians. The intervening country through which it was necessary for them to march was divided into gardens and plantations of every kind, since many streams of water were led in small channels and irrigated every part. There were also country houses one after another, constructed in luxurious fashion and covered with stucco, which gave evidence of the

¹ The exact situation of this city is not known.

4 αὐτὰς διασημαίνουσαι πλοῦτον. ἔγεμον δ' αί μέν έπαύλεις πάντων των πρός απόλαυσιν, ώς αν των έγγωρίων εν είρηνη πολυχρονίω τεθησαυρικότων γεννημάτων άφθονίαν ή δε χώρα ή μεν ήν άμπελόφυτος, ή δε έλαιοφόρος και των άλλων των καρπίμων δένδρων ανάπλεως. Επί θάτερα δε μέρη τό πεδίον ενέμοντο βοών αγέλαι και ποίμναι και τὰ πλησίον έλη φορβάδων ἵππων έγεμε. καθόλου δέ παντοία τις ην έν τοις τόποις εὐδαιμονία, τῶν επιφανεστάτων Καρχηδονίων διειληφότων τὰς κτήσεις και τοις πλούτοις πεφιλοκαληκότων πρός 5 απόλαυσιν. διόπερ οί Σικελιώται τό τε της χώρας κάλλος και την ευδαιμονίαν την έν αυτή θαυμάζοντες μετέωροι ταις ελπίσιν ενένοντο, θεωρούντες άξια των κινδύνων έπαθλα τοῖς νικώσι προκείμενα. ο δ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής δρών τους στρατιώτας αναλαμβάνοντας αύτους έκ της άθυμίας και προθύμους όντας είς τούς κινδύνους έξ εφόδου προσέβαλλε τοίς τείγεσιν. απροσδοκήτου δε της επιθέσεως γενομένης και των ένδον διά την άγνοιαν και την των πολέμων απειρίαν ολίγον υποστάντων γρόνον είλε την πόλιν κατά κράτος δούς δέ τοις στρατιώταις είς άρπαγην ενέπλησε την δύναμιν ωφελείας αμα 7 καὶ θάρσους. εἰθὺ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λευκὸν Τύνητα καλούμενον αναζεύξας έχειρώσατο την πόλιν, απέχουσαν Καρχηδόνος δισχιλίους σταδίους. άμφο-

¹ πολειμκών Fischer.

¹ Of Megalepolis.

The city cannot be certainly identified. If it is Tunis, as 162

BOOK XX. 8, 3-7

wealth of the people who possessed them. The farm 810 B.C. buildings were filled with everything that was needful for enjoyment, seeing that the inhabitants in a long period of peace had stored up an abundant variety of products. Part of the land was planted with vines, and part yielded olives and was also planted thickly with other varieties of fruit-bearing trees. On each side herds of cattle and flocks of sheep pastured on the plain, and the neighbouring meadows were filled with grazing horses. In general there was a manifold prosperity in the region, since the leading Carthaginians had laid out there their private estates and with their wealth had beautified them for their enjoyment. Therefore the Sicilians, amazed at the beauty of the land and at its prosperity, were buoyed up by expectation, for they beheld prizes commensurate with their dangers ready at hand for the victors; and Agathocles, seeing that the soldiers were recovering from their discouragement and had become eager for battle, attacked the city walls 1 by direct assault. Since the onset was unforeseen and the inhabitants. because they did not know what was happening and because they had had no experience in the wars, resisted only a short time, he took the city by storm; and giving it over to his soldiers for pillage, he at a single stroke loaded his army with booty and filled it with confidence. Then, setting out immediately for White Tunis,2 as it is called, he subdued this city. which lies about two thousand stades from Carthage.

scems probable, it is distant from Carthage only about 12 miles. In any case, since the city in question must lie between Cape Bon and Carthage, the 2000 stades (about 240 miles) is certainly wrong (cp. Beloch, *Criechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 206).

τέρας δὲ τὰς άλούσας πόλεις οἱ μὲν στρατιώται διαφυλάττειν ήβούλοντο καὶ τὰς ώφελείας εἰς αὐτὰς άπετίθεντο δ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής άκόλουθα τοῖς προπεπραγμένοις διανοηθείς και διδάξας το πλήθος ώς ούδεμίαν συμφέρει καταφυγήν απολιπείν έως αν παρατάξει νικήσωσι, κατέστρεψέ τε τὰς πόλεις

και κατεστρατοπέδευσεν εν υπαίθρω.

9. Οι δ' εφορμούντες Καρχηδόνιοι τω ναυστάθμω των Σικελιωτών το μέν πρώτον ορώντες κασμένας τὰς ναθς περιχαρείς ήσιιν, ώς διά τὰν απ' αυτών φόβον ήναγκασμένων τών πολιμίων διαφθείραι το σκάφη ώς δ' ίδον είς την χώραν προάγουσαν την των έναντίων δύναμιν, συλλογιζόμενοι περί των αποβησομένων συμφυράν ίδιαν ήγουντο την των νεών απώλειαν. διο και ταις πρώραις δέρρεις κατεπέτασαν, όπερ άεὶ ποιείν εἰώθασιν όταν τι κακόν δημοσία συμβεβηκέναι δόξη 2 τη Καρχηδονίων πόλει, ελαβόν τε και τα χαλκώματα των 'Αγαθοκλέους νοων είς τας ίδιας τριήρεις καί τους απαγγελούντας ύπερ των συμβεβηκότων τάκριβές έξαπέστειλαν είς την Καρχηδόνα. δε τούτους δηλώσαι το γεγονός, από της χώρας τινές αισθόμενοι τον κατάπλουν τον 'Αγαθοκλέους 3 απήγγειλαν κατά σπουδήν τοις Καρχηδυνίοις, οί δ' εκπλαγέντες διὰ τὸ παράδυξον ὑπέλαβον ἀπολωλέναι τὰς ίδίας δυνάμεις ἐν Σικελία καὶ τὰς πεζικάς και τάς ναυτικάς ου γάρ αν πυτε τον 'Αγαθοκλέα μη νενικηκότα τολμήσαι καταλιπείν έρήμους βοηθείας τὰς Συρακούσσας οὐδ' ἄν ἐπιβαλέσθαι περαιούν δύναμιν θαλαττοκρατούντων

¹ doopinover editors: doopiweres. * pourougar Rhodoman : mpogárougar,

The soldiers wished to garrison both of the captured side.c. cities and deposit the booty in them; but Agathocles, meditating actions conforming to those that had already been accomplished and telling the crowd that it was advantageous to leave behind them no places of refuge until they should have been victorious in battle, destroyed the cities and camped

in the open.

9. When the Carthaginians who lay at anchor off the station where the Sicilian fleet was beached saw the ships burning, they were delighted, thinking that it was through fear of themselves that the enemy had been forced to destroy his ships; but when they saw that the army of their opponents was moving into the country, as they reckoned up the consequences, they concluded that the destruction of the flect was their own misfortune. Therefore they spread hides over the prows of their ships as they were in the habit of doing whenever it seemed that any public misfortune had befallen the city of Carthage; and, after taking the bronze beaks of the ships of Agathocles on board their own triremes, they sent to Carthage messengers to report exactly what had happened. But before these had explained the situation, the country folk who had seen the landing of Agathocles, reported it quickly to the Cartha-Panic-stricken at the unexpected event. they supposed that their own forces in Sicily, both army and navy, had been destroyed; for Agathocles, they believed, would never have ventured to leave Syracuse stripped of defenders unless he had been victorious, nor to transport an army across the straits

³ πόλει added by editors.

⁴ θαλασσοκρατούντων MSS.

4 τῶν πολεμίων. διόπερ θόρυβος καὶ πολλὴ ταραχὴ κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ συνδρομὴ τῶν ὅχλων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίνετο καὶ βουλὴ τῆς γερουσίας ὅ τι δέοι πράττειν. στρατόπεδον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ῆν ἔτοιμον τὸ δυνάμενον ἀντιτάξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν πλήθος ἄπειρον ὅν πολέμου προκαταπεπτώκει ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ πλησίον εἶναι τῶν τειχῶν προσεδο-5 κῶντο. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν ἔφασαν πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς Λγαθοκλέα, τοὺς αὐτούς ἄμα καὶ κατασκόπους ἐσομένους τῶν παρὰ τοῦς πολεμίοις, τινὲς δὲ ἀναμεῖναι μέχρι ᾶν γνῶσιν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστον τῶν πεπραγμένων. ταιμύτης δὲ συγχύσεως τὴν πόλιν ἐχούσης κατέπλευσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυάρχου καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐδήλωσαν.

10. Αναθαρσησάντων οὖν πάντων πάλιν ταις ψυχαις ή γερουσία τοὺς μὲν ναυάρχους ἄπαντας κατεμέμψατο ὅτι θαλαττοκρατοῦντες εἴασαν πολεμίαν δύναμιν ἐπιβῆναι τῆς Λιβύης, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἀπέδειξαν τῶν δυνάμεων "Αννωνα καὶ Βορ-2 μίλκαν, πατρώαν ἔχθραν ἔχοντας ήγοῦντο γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τούτοις ἀπιστίαν καὶ διαφορὰν κοινὴν ἔσεσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀσφάλειαν. πολὺ δὲ διεσφάλησαν τῆς ἀληθείας. ὁ γὰρ Βορμίλκας πάλαι μὲν ῆν ἐπιθυμητὴς τυραννίδος, οἰκ ἔχων δ' ἐξουσίαν οὐδὲ καιρὸν οἰκεῖον ταις ἐπιβολαις τότε ἔλαβεν ἀφορμὰς ἀξιολόγους, τυχῶν τῆς στρατηγίας. αἰτία δὲ μάλιστα τούτων ἡ πρὸς τὰς τὰς τιμωρίας πικρία τῶν

¹ This Hanno is otherwise unknown. Bormilear (or Bornilear according to the more usual spelling) was the son of a brother of the Hamilear who had negotiated a treaty between Agathoeles and certain Sicilian cities (Book 19.71.6) 166

while the enemy controlled the sea. Therefore panic 310 B.C. and great confusion seized upon the city; the crowds rushed to the market place, and the council of elders consulted what should be done. In fact there was no army at hand that could take the field against the enemy; the mass of the citizens, who had had no experience in warfare, were already in despair; and the enemy was thought to be near the walls. cordingly, some proposed to send envoys to Agathocles to sue for peace, these same men serving also as spies to observe the situation of the enemy; but some urged that they should delay until they had learned precisely what had taken place. However, while such confusion prevailed in the city, the messengers sent by the commander of the fleet sailed in and made clear the true explanation of what had happened.

10. Now that all had regained their courage, the council reprimanded all the commanders of the fleet because, although controlling the sca, they had allowed a hostile army to set foot on Libya; and it appointed as generals of the armies Hanno and Bormilear, men who had an inherited feud. The councillors thought, indeed, that because of the private mistrust and enmity of the generals the safety of the city as a whole would be secured; but they completely missed the truth. For Bormilear, who had long had his heart set on tyranny but had lacked authority and a proper occasion for his attempt, now gained an excellent starting point by getting the command as general. The basic cause in this matter was the Carthaginians' severity in inflicting punish-

and was recalled because of his supposed friendship with Agathocles (Justin, 22. 2. 6, 7. 10); cp. p. 28, note 1.

DIODORUS OF SICHA

Καρχηδονίων τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις προάγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, νομίζοντες δεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν ὅλων προκινδυνεύειν ὅταν δὲ τύχωσι τῆς εἰρήνης, τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ κρίσεις ἀδίκους ἐπιφέροντες διὰ 4 τὸν φθόνον τιμωρίαις περιβάλλουσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ταττομένων τινὲς μὲν φοβωίμενοι τὰς ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίω κρίσεις ἀπωστάται γίνονται τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τινὲς δ' ἐπιτίθενται τυρανιίσιν ὅπερ καὶ τότε Πορμίλκας ὁ ἔτερος τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐποίησε περὶ οῦ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν.

5 Οί δι οῦν στρατηγοί τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὁρῶντες τὸν καιρόν οὐδαμῶς ἀναβολῆς οἰκεῖον τοὺς μέν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων στρατιώτας οὐκ ἀνέμειναν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἐξήγαγον εἰς ὕπαιθρον, ὅντας πεζοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισμυρίων, ἵππεῖς δὲ χιλίους, ἄρματα

- ελάττους τετρακισμυρίων, ίππεῖς δε χιλίους, άρματα δ εδισχίλια. καταλαβόμενοι δε τινα γεώλοφον οὐ μακρὰν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέταττον τὴν δύναμιν εἰς μάχην καὶ τοῦ μεν δεξιοῦ κέρατος "Λυνων εἰχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, συναγωνιζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον συντεταγμένων, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου Βορμίλκας ἡγούμενος βαθεῖαν ἐποίει τὴν φάλαγγα, κωλύοντος τοῦ τόπου παρεκτείνειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὰ δ' ἄρματα καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἔστησαν, διεγνωκότες τούτοις πρῶτον ἐμβαλείν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποπειραθῆναι.
 - 11. 'Ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής κατασκεψώμενος τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων τάξεις τὸ μὸν δεξιὸν κέρας ἔδωκεν 'Αρχα-

1 The hyenoviae omitted by Madvig. 2 8 F. Dindorf: y' RX, Fischer.

ments. In their wars they advance their leading men are to commands, taking it for granted that these should be first to brave danger for the whole state; but when they gain peace, they plague these same men with suits, bring false charges against them through envy, and load them down with penalties. Therefore some of those who are placed in positions of command, fearing the trials in the courts, desert their posts, but others attempt to become tyrants; and this is what Bormilear, one of the two generals, did on this occasion; about him we shall speak a little later.

But to resume, the generals of the Carthaginians, seeing that the situation was not at all consistent with delay, did not await soldiers from the country and from the allied cities; but they led the citizen soldiers themselves into the field, in number not less than forty thousand foot-soldiers, one thousand horsemen, and two thousand chariots.2 Occupying a slight elevation not far from the enemy, they drew up their army for battle. Hanno had command of the right wing, those enrolled in the Sacred Band a fighting beside him; and Bormilear, commanding the left, made his phalanx deep since the terrain prevented him from extending it on a broader front. chariots and the eavalry they stationed in front of the phalanx, having determined to strike with these first and test the temper of the Greeks.

11. After Agathoeles had viewed the array of the barbarians, he entrusted the right wing to his son

Cp. chaps. 12. 5; 43-44.

^{*} According to Justin, 23. 6. 5, the army consisted of 30,000 men from the country districts (pagani) under the leadership of Hanno alone, cp. Orosius, 4. 6. 25.

³ In Book 16, 80, 4 we are told that the Sacred Band consisted of 2500 men, outstanding for valour and wealth.

γάθω τῶ υἰῷ, παραδούς αὐτῷ πεζούς δισχιλίους και πεντακοσίους, έξης δ' έταξε τους Συρακοσίους. όντας τρισχιλίους πεντακοσίους, είτα μαθοφόρους Ελληνας τρισχιλίους, τελευταίους δε Σαμνίτας καί Τυρρηνούς καὶ Κελτούς τρισχιλίους. μετά δὲ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτός τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρατος προηγωνίζετο, γιλίοις δπλίταις πρός του ίερου λύχου του Καρχηδονίων αντιτεταγμένος τους δε τυξότας και σφενδονήτας πεντακοσίους δυτας έπι τα κέρατα διείλεν. 2 όπλα μέν οδυ οί στρατιώται μόγις είχου ίκανάτους δ' έκ των αφράκτων όρων ανόπλους όντας τὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἔλυτρα ράβδοις διέτεινε και τη φαντασία τον της απτίδος κύκλου μιμησάμενος ανέδωκεν αύτοις πρός μέν την χρείαν οὐδαμῶς έπιτήδεια, πρός δε την πόρρωθεν όρωμένην ύψων δυνάμενα δόξαν υπλων έμποιησαι τοις άγυρουσι 3 τάληθές. όρων δέ τους στρατιώτας καταπεπληγμένους το πλήθος της βαρβαρικής ιππου και πεζής? δυνάμεως ἀφήκεν είς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ πλείονας τύπους γλαθκας, ας έκ χρόνου παρεσκεύαστο πρός 4 τὰς ἀθυμίας τῶν πολλῶν αὐται δὲ διὰ τῆς φάλαγγος πετόμεναι και προσκαθίζουσαι ταις ασπίσι και τοις κράνεσιν εύθαρσείς εποίουν τους στρατιώτας, εκάστων οίωνιζομένων διά το δοκείν ίερον είναι το 5 ζώον της 'Αθηνάς. τοιαθτα' δέ, καίπερ άν τισι δάξαντα κενήν έχειν επίνοιαν, πολλάκις αίτια γίνεται

1 Amon Dindorf : hulgars.

² атактын Madvig, ср. Book 17, 80, 7,

² πεζής added by Dindorf and doubtfully approved by Fischer in apparatus.
⁴ τοισῶτα Hertlein: ταῦτα MSS., Fischer.

Archagathus,3 giving him twenty-five hundred foot- 310 n.c. soldiers: next he drew up the Syracusans, who were thirty-five hundred in number, then three thousand Greek mercenaries, and finally three thousand Samnites, Etruscans, and Celts. He himself with his bodyguard fought in front of the left wing, opposing with one thousand hoplites the Sacred Band of the Carthaginians. The five hundred archers and slingers he divided between the wings. There was hardly enough equipment for the soldiers; and when he saw the men of the crews a marmed he had the shield covers stretched with sticks, thus making them similar in appearance to the round shields, and distributed them to these men, of no use at all for real service but when seen from a distance capable of creating the impression of arms in the minds of men who did not know the truth. Seeing that his soldiers were frightened by the great numbers of barbarian cavalry and infantry, he let loose into the army in many places owls, which he had long since prepared as a means of relieving the discouragement of the common soldiers. The owls, flying through the phalanx and settling on the shields and helmets, encouraged the soldiers, each man regarding this as an omen because the bird is held sacred to Athena.3 Such things as this, although they might seem to some an inane device, have often been responsible

2 Or, reading arantos, "the camp followers."

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¹ He is called Agatharchus in chap. 55, 5 and in Book 21, 3, 2; also by Polybius, 7, 2, 4.

² For the owls that gave an omen of victory before the battle of Salamis cp. Pluturch, *Themistocles*, 12. 1, and Aristophanes, Wasps, 1086, together with scholia on the passage.

μεγάλων προτερημάτων. ὁ καὶ τότο συνέβη γενέαθαι έμπεσόντος γάρ είς τὰ πλήθη θάρσους καὶ διαδοθέντων λόγων ώς το θείον αὐτοίς φανερώς προσημαίνει νίκην, παραστατικώτερον τον κίνδυνον

ύπέμειναν.

12. Προεμβαλόντων γάρ εἰς αὐτοὺς τῶν άρμάτων ά μεν κατηκόντισαν, α δ' είασαν διεκπεσείν, τά δέ πλείστα συνηνάγκασαν στρέψαι πρός τὴν τῶν πεζῶν 2 τάξιν. παραπλησίως δέ και την των ίππέων επιφοράν υποστάντες και πολλούς αυτών κατατιτρώσκοντες εποίησαν φυγείν είς τουπίσω. προαγωνιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τούτοις λαμπρῶς ή πεζή δύναμις των βαρβάρων απασα συνήψεν είς 3 χείρας. γενναίας δε μάχης γιγνομένης "Αινων μέν έχων συναγωνιζόμενον του λερον λόχου επιλέκτων άνδρών και απεύδων ποιήσαι δι' αύτου την νίκην ενέκειτο βαρύς τοις Ελλησι και συχνούς ανήρει. φερομένων δ' επ' αὐτον παντοδαπών βελών οὐκ είκεν, άλλα καίπερ πολλοίς τραύμασι περιπίπτων εβιάζετο, μέχρις ότου καταποιηθείς ετελεύτησε. 4 τούτου δέ πεσόντος οί μέν ταύτη τεταγμένοι τών Καργηδονίων άνετράπησαν ταις ψυχαίς, οι δέ περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα μετεωρισθέντες πολύ μαλλον έπερ-5 ρώσθησαν. ά δή πυθόμενός τινων Βορμίλκας, δ έτερος στρατηγός, καὶ νομίσας παρά θεών αὐτώ δεδόσθαι τον καιρόν του λαβείν άφυρμας πρός την επίθεσιν της τυραννίδος, διελογίζετο πρός αύτόν, el μέν ή μετά 'Αγαθοκλέους διαφθαρείη δύναμις, μη δυνήσεσθαι την επίθεσιν ποιήσασθαι τη δυναστεία, των πολιτων ισχυόντων, εί δε εκείνος νικήσας

for great successes. And so it happened on this 210 Mar. occasion also; for when courage inspired the common soldiers and word was passed along that the deity was clearly foretelling vietory for them, they awaited the

battle with greater steadfastness.

12. Indeed, when the chariots charged against them, they shot down some, and allowed others to pass through, but most of them they forced to turn back against the line of their own infantry. In the same way they withstood also the charge of the cavalry; and by bringing down many of them, they made them flee to the rear. While they were distinguishing themselves in these preliminary contests, the infantry force of the barbarians had all come to close quarters. A gallant battle developed, and Hanno, who had fighting under him the Sacred Band of selected men and was intent upon gaining the victory by himself, pressed heavily upon the Greeks and slew many of them. Even when all kinds of missiles were hurled against him, he would not yield but pushed on though suffering many wounds until he died from exhaustion. When he had fallen, the Carthaginians who were drawn up in that part of the line were disheartened, but Agathoeles and his men were elated and became much bolder than before. When Bormilear, the other general, heard of this from certain persons, thinking the gods had given him the opportunity for gaining a position from which to make a bid for the tyranny, he reasoned thus with himself: If the army of Agathocles should be destroyed, he himself would not be able to make his attempt at supremacy since the citizens would be strong; but if the former should win the victory and

¹ Ιππέων Dindorf : ἵππων.

τὰ φρονήματα παρέλοιτο τῶν Καρχηδονίων, εὐχειρώτους μεν έαυτω τους προηττημένους έπεσθαι, τον δ' 'Αγαθοκλέα ραδίως καταπολεμήσειν, όταν ο αὐτῷ δόξη. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθείς ἀνεχώρησε μετά των πρωτοστατών, δούς τοις μέν πολεμίοις άσημον εκκλιμα, τοις δ' ίδίοις δηλώσας του "Αννωνος θάνατον καὶ παρακελουόμενος ἀναγωρεῖν ἐν τάξει η πρός τὸν γεώλοφον τοῦτο γὰρ συμφέρειν. ἐπικειμένων δε των πολεμίων και της ύλης ύποχωρήσεως φυγή παραπλησίας γινομένης οί μέν συνεχείς λίβυες άπο κράτους ήττησθαι τούς πρωτυστάτας νομίσαντες πρός φυγήν Ερμησαν, οί δε τον ίερον λόχον έχοντες μετά τον "Αννωνος του στρατηγού θάνατον το μέν πρώτον άντείχον εύρώστως και τούς έξ αύτων πίπτοντας ύπερβαίνοντες ύπέμενον πάντα κίνδυνου, επεί δε κατενόησαν το πλείου μέρος της δυνάμεως πρός φυγήν ωρμημένον και τους πολεμίους περιισταμένους κατά νώτου, συνηναγκάσθη-8 σαν έκκλιναι. διό και τροπής γενομένης κατά παν τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατόπεδον οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι την φυγήν έποιούντο πρός την Καρχηδόνα, 'Αγαθοκλής δε μέχρι τινός επιδιώξας επανήλθε και την στρατοπεδείαν των Καρχηδονίων διήρπασεν.

13. "Επεσον δ' εν τῆ μάχη τῶν μὲν 'Ελλήνων εἰς διακοσίους, τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων οὐ πλείους χιλίων, ώς δ' ενιοι γεγράφασιν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς έξακισχιλίους. εν δὲ τῆ τῶν Καρχηδονίων παρεμβολῆ σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀφελείαις εὐρέθησαν ἄμαξαι πλείους, ἐν αῖς ἐκομίζετο ζεύγη χειροπεδῶν πλείω τῶν δισμυρίων.

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quench the pride of the Carthaginians, the already \$10 8 c. defeated people would be easy for him to manage, and he could defeat Agathocles readily whenever he wished. When he had reached this conclusion, he withdrew with the men of the front rank, presenting to the enemy an inexplicable retirement but making known to his own men the death of Hanno and ordering them to withdraw in formation to the high ground; for this, he said, was to their advantage. But as the enemy pressed on and the whole retreat was becoming like a rout, the Libyans of the next ranks, believing that the front rank was being defeated by sheer force, broke into flight; those, however, who were leading the Sacred Band after the death of its general Hanno, at first resisted stoutly and, stepping over the bodies of their own men as they fell, withstood every danger, but when they perceived that the greater part of the army had turned to flight and that the enemy was surrounding them in the rear, they were forced to withdraw. And so, when rout spread throughout the entire army of the Carthaginians, the barbarians kept fleeing toward Carthage; but Agathocles, after pursuing them to a certain point, turned back and plundered the camp of the enemy.

13. There fell in this battle Greeks to the number of two hundred, and of Carthaginians not more than a thousand, but as some have written, upwards of six thousand. In the camp of the Carthaginians were found, along with other goods, many waggons, in which were being transported more than twenty

¹ Justin, 22. 6. 6, places the Greek losses at 2000 men, the Carthaginian at 3000. Orosius, 4. 6. 25, says that the Carthaginians lost 2000 and the Sicilians only 2.

¹ αύτῶν editors: αὐτῶν.

2 έξ έτοίμου γάρ οί βάρβαροι κρατήσειν ύπειληφότες των Ελλήνων παρηγγέλκεισαν άλλήλοις ζωγρείν ώς πλείστους και δήσαντες είς συνεργασίαν 3 έμβαλείν. άλλ', οίμαι, το δαιμόνιον ώσπερ επίτηδες τοις ύπερηφάνως διαλογιζομένοις τὸ τέλος των κατελπισθέντων είς τουναντίον μετατίθησιν. 'Αγαθοκλής μέν ουν Καρχηδονίους παραλύγως νικήσας τειχήρεις συνείχεν, ή τύχη δε εναλλάξ τα προτερήματα τοίς έλαττώμασιν έπεισαγαγούσα τούς ύπερ-4 έχουτας ίσου έταπείνωσε τοῖς ήττωμένοις το Σικελία μέν γάρ Καρχηδόνιοι μεγάλη νενικηκότες παρατάξει Αγαθοκλέα τὰς Συρακούσσας ἐπολιόρκουν, ἐν Λιβύη δὲ 'Αγαθοκλής τηλικαύτη μάχη προτερήσας els πολιορκίαν ενέκλεισε Καρχηδονίους, και το θαυμασιώτατον, δ δυνάστης κατά μέν την νήσον ακεραίους έχων τας δυνάμεις ελείπετο των βαρβάρων, επί δε της ηπείρου τω μίρει της προηττημένης στρατιάς περιεγένετο τών νενικηκύτων.

14. Διόπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, νομίσαντες ἐκ θεῶν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι τὴν συμφοράν, ἐτράπησαν πρὸς παντοίαν ἱκεσίαν τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ νομίσαντες μάλιστα μηνίειν αὐτοῖς τὸν 'Πρακλέα τὸν παρὰ τοῖς ἀποικισταῖς' χρημάτων πλῆθος καὶ τῶν πολυτελεοτάτων ἀναθημάτων ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Τύρον 2 οὐκ ὀλίγα. ἀποικισθέντες γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης εἰώθεισαν

1 ἀποικισταϊε Wesseling: ἀποίκοις MSS., l'ischer. Perhaps one might read παρόντα τοῖς ἀποίκοις.

¹ So, too, the Spartans in a campuign against Tegea carried fetters, and with the same result (Herodotus, 1, 66).

thousand pairs of manaeles 1; for the Carthaginians, 310 n.c. having expected to master the Greeks easily, had passed the word along among themselves to take alive as many as possible and, after shackling them, to throw them into slave pens. But, I think, the divinity of set purpose in the case of men who are arrogant in their calculations, changes the outcome of their confident expectations into its contrary. Now Agathoeles, having surprisingly defeated the Carthaginians, was holding them shut up within their walls; but fortune, alternating victories with defeats, humbled the victors equally with the vanquished. For in Sicily the Carthaginians, who had defeated Agathocles in a great battle, were besieging Syracuse, but in Libya Agathocles, having gained the upper hand in a battle of such importance, had brought the Carthaginians under siege; and what was most amazing, on the island the tyrant, though his armaments were unscathed, had proved inferior to the barbarians, but on the continent with a portion of his once defeated army he got the better of those who had been victorious.

14. Therefore the Carthaginians, believing that the misfortune had come to them from the gods, betook themselves to every manner of supplication of the divine powers; and, because they believed that Heracles, who was worshipped in their mother city, was exceedingly angry with them, they sent a large sum of money and many of the most expensive offerings to Tyre. Since they had come as colonists from that city, it had been their custom in the earlier

² Or, reading τον παρόντα τοῖς ἀποίκοις, "who aids colonists." The Greeks regularly identified the Tyrian god Melkart with their Heracles.

έν τοις ζιπροσθεν χρόνοις δεκάτην αποστέλλειν τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν εἰς πρόσοδον πιπτόντων: ύστερον δε μεγάλους κτησάμενοι πλούτους καὶ προσόδους άξιολογωτέρας λαμβάνοντες μικρά παντελώς απέστελλον, ολιγωρούντες του δαιμονίου. διά δέ την συμφοράν ταύτην είς μεταμέλειαν έλθύντες πάντων των έν τη Τύρω θεων έμινημό-3 νευον. Επεμμαν δέ και τους έκ τῶν ιερῶν χρυσοῦς ναούς τοις άφιδρύμασι πρός την ίκεσίαν, ήγούμενοι μαλλον εξιλάσεσθαι την του θεού μηνιν των άναθηε μάτων πεμφθέντων επί την παραίτησιν. ήτιωντο δέ και τον Κρόνον αύτοις έναντιουσθαι, καθ' όσον έν τοις έμπροαθεν χρόνοις θύοντες τούτω τω θεώ των υίων τους κρατίστους υστερον ωνούμενοι λάθρα παίδας καὶ θρέψαντες έπεμπου ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν και ζητήσεως γενομένης ευρέθησάν τινες των καθιερουργημένων ύποβολιμαΐοι γεγονότες. 5 τούτων δε λαβόντες είνοιαν και τούς πολεμίους πρός τοις τείχεσιν όρωντες στρατοπεδεύοντας έδεισιδαιμόνουν ώς καταλελυκότες τὰς πατρίους τών θεών τιμάς. διορθώσασθαι δέ τὰς άγνοίας σπεύδοντες διακοσίους μέν των επιφανεστάτων παίδων προκρίναντες έθυσαν δημοσία άλλοι δ' έν διαβολαίς όντες έκουσίως έαυτούς έδοσαν, ούκ ελάττους όντες β τριακοσίων. ήν δέ παρ' αυτοίς ανδριάς Κρόνου χαλκούς, έκτετακώς τας χείρας ύπτίας έγκεκλιμένας έπὶ τὴν γῆν, ώστε τὸν ἐπιτεθέντα τῶν παίδων

¹ (αὐτοῖς) τοῖς ἀφ. Fischer, (αὐτοῖς) ἀφ. Wesseling, (σὐν) τοῖς ἀφ. Mudvig.

¹ These golden shrines containing images of the gods, which are called offerings just below, seem to have been dedications in the temples in Carthage. One may compare 178

period to send to the god a tenth of all that was paid \$10 B.c. into the public revenue; but later, when they had acquired great wealth and were receiving more considerable revenues, they sent very little indeed, holding the divinity of little account. But turning to repentance because of this misfortune, they bethought them of all the gods of Tyre. They even sent from their temples in supplication the golden shrines with their images, believing that they would better appease the wrath of the god if the offerings were sent for the sake of winning forgiveness. They also alleged that Cronus 2 had turned against them masmuch as in former times they had been accustomed to sacrifice to this god the noblest of their sons, but more recently, secretly buying and nurturing children, they had sent these to the sacrifice; and when an investigation was made, some of those who had been sacrificed were discovered to have been supposititious. When they had given thought to these things and saw their enemy encamped before their walls, they were filled with superstitious dread, for they believed that they had neglected the honours of the gods that had been established by their fathers. In their zeal to make amends for their omission, they selected two hundred of the noblest children and sacrificed them publicly; and others who were under suspicion sacrificed themselves voluntarily, in number not less than three hundred. There was in their city a bronze image of Cronus, extending its hands, palms up and sloping toward the ground, so that each of the children when placed

the silver shrines of Diana of Ephesus made and sold in large numbers in that city in the first century after Christ, Luke, Acts of the Apostles, 19, 24-27. * i.e. Baal, or Moloch.

άποκυλίεσθαι καὶ πίπτειν είς τι χάσμα πλήρες πυρός. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐντεῦθεν εἰληφέναι τὰ μυθολογούμενα παρ' αὐτῶι περὶ τὴν ἐν Γαύροις θυσίαν, ἐν οις εἰσάγει τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν ὑπὸ Ὁρέστου διερωτωμένην

τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεται μ', ὅταν θάνω; πῦρ ἰερὸν ἔνδον χάσμα τ' εὐρωπὸν χθονός.²

7 καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησι δὲ μῦθος ἐκ παλαιᾶς φήμης παραδεδομένος ὅτι Κρόνος ἡφάνιζε τοὺς ἰδίους παΐδας παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις φαίνεται διὰ τούτου τοῦ

νομίμου τετηρημένος.

15. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοιαύτης ἐν τῆ Λιβύη γεγενημένης μεταβολῆς οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι διεπέμποντο
πρὸς ᾿Αμίλκαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, ἀξιοῦντες κατὰ
τάχος πέμψαι βοήθειαν, καὶ τὰ ληφθέντα χαλκώματα τῶν ᾿Αγαθοκλέους νοῶν ἀπέστειλαν αὐτῷ.
ὁ δὲ τοῖς καταπλεύσασι παρεκελεύσατο σιωπῶν
μὲν τὴν γεγενημένην ἡτταν, διαδιδόναι δὲ λόγον εἰς
τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς ἄρδην ἀπώλεσε
² καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἄπασαν. αὐτὸς δὲ
πέμψας τινὰς τῶν παρόντων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος εἰς
τὰς Συρακούσσας πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τὰ χαλκώματα
συναποστείλας ἡξίου παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν τὴν
μὲν γὰρ δύναμιν τῶν Συρακοσίων ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων
κατακεκόφθαι, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἐμπεπυρίσθαι τοῖς δ᾽
ἀπιστοῦσιν ἀπόδειξιν παρέχεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἐμβόλων
³ κομιδήν. τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ πόλει πυθομένων τὴν περὶ
τὸν ᾿Αγαθοκλέα προσηγγελμένην συμφορὰν οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, οἱ προεστηκότες δὲ διστάζωντες

For χθονός the MSS. of Euripides give πέτρας.

thereon rolled down and fell into a sort of gaping pit sio i.c. filled with fire. It is probable that it was from this that Euripides has drawn the mythical story found in his works about the sacrifice in Tauris, in which he presents Iphigeneia being asked by Orestes:

But what tomb shall receive me when I die? A sacred fire within, and earth's broad rift.

Also the story passed down among the Greeks from ancient myth that Cronus did away with his own children appears to have been kept in mind among

the Carthaginians through this observance.

15. However this may be, after such a reversal in Libya, the Carthaginians sent messengers into Sicily to Hamilear, begging him to send aid as soon as possible; and they dispatched to him the captured bronze beaks of Agathoeles' ships. Hamilear ordered those who had sailed across to keep silent about the defeat that had been sustained, but to spread abroad to the soldiers word that Agathoeles had utterly lost his fleet and his whole army. Hamilear himself, dispatching into Syracuse as envoys some of those who had come from Carthage and sending with them the beaks, demanded the surrender of the city; for, he said, the army of the Syracusans had been cut to pieces by the Carthaginians and their ships had been burned, and the production of the beaks offered proof to those who disbelieved. When the inhabitants of the city heard the reported misfortune of Agathocles, the common people believed; the magistrates,

¹ Euripides, *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, 625-626. The second line is Iphigeneia's answer to Orestes; and the sense seems to demand the insertion between the lines of some such phrase as " and answering."

διετήρησαν μέν χάριν του μή γενέσθαι ταραχήν, τούς πρεσβευτάς δέ ταχέως έξέπεμβαν, τούς δέ των φυγάδων συγγενείς και φίλους και των άλλων τούς δυσχεραίνοντας τοις ύπ' αύτων πραττομένοις εξέβαλον εκ της πόλεως, όντας οὐκ ελάττους 4 οκτακισχιλίων. κάπειτα τοσούτου πλήθους άφνο συναναγκαζομένου την πατρίδα ψεύγειν έγεμεν ή πόλις διαδρομής καὶ θορύβου καὶ γυναικείων κλαυθμών ουδεμία γαρ ήν οίκία πένθους ακοινώνητος 5 κατά τουτον τον καιρόν. οί μέν γάρ περί την τυραννίδα τοῦ 'Αγαθοκλέους καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ^t την συμφοράν διδύροντο, των δ' ίδιωτων οί μέν τούς απολωλέναι δοκούντας κατά Λιβύην έκλαιον, οί δε τους εκπίπτουτας άφ' έστίας και πατρώων θεών, οξς αύτε μένειν έξην ούτ' έκτος των τειγών προάγειν, πολιορκούντων τών βαρβάρων, πρός δέ τοις είρημένοις κακοίς τηλικούτοις ούσιν ήναγκάζουτο υηπίους παίδας και γυναίκας συνεφέλκεσθαι στη φυγή. ὁ δ' 'Αμίλκας, καταφυγύντων πρός αύτον των φυγάδων, τούτοις μεν την ασφάλειαν παρέσχετο, την δε δύναμιν παρασκευάσας προηγεν έπί τὰς Συρακούσσας, ώς αίρησων την πόλιν διά τε την ερημίαν και διά την προσηγγελμένην τοίς υπολελειμμένοις συμφοράν.

16. Προαποστείλαντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν καὶ διδόντος 'Αντάνδρω καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ παραδιδόασι τὴν πόλιν, ἀσψάλειαν, συνήδρευσαν τῶν ἡγεμόνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀξίωμα δοκοῦντες ἔχειν. ἡηθέντων οὖν πολλῶν λόγων "Αντανδρος μὲν ὤετο

however, being in doubt, watched closely that there 310 a.c. might be no disorder, but they sent the envoys away at once; and the relatives and friends of the exiles and any others who were displeased with the actions of the magistrates they cast out of the city, in number not less than eight thousand. Thereupon, when so great a multitude was suddenly forced to leave its native place, the city was filled with running to and fro and with uproar and the lamentation of women; for there was no household that did not have its share of mourning at that time. Those who were of the party of the tyrant lamented at the misfortune of Agathocles and his sons; and some of the private citizens wept for the men believed to have been lost in Libya, and others for those who were being driven from hearth and ancestral gods, who could neither remain nor yet go outside the walls since the barbarians were besieging the city, and who, in addition to the aforesaid evils, which were great enough, were being compelled to drag along with them in their flight infant children and women. But when the exiles took refuge with Hamilear, he offered them safety; and, making ready his army, he led it against Syracuse, expecting to take the city both because it was bereft of defenders and because of the disaster that had been reported to those who had been left there.

16. After Hamilear had sent an embassy in advance and had offered safety to Antander and those with him if they surrendered the city, those of the leaders who were held in highest esteem came together in council. After prolonged discussion Antander thought

¹ αὐτοθ Dindorf: αὐτῶν.
2 συνήδρευσαν Stephanus: συνεδρευσάντων.

δείν παραδιδόναι την πύλιν, ων ανανδρος φύσει καί της τάδελφοῦ τόλμης καὶ πράξεως ἐναντίαν ἔχων διάθεσιν 'Ερύμνων δ' ὁ Λίτωλός, παρακαθεσταμένος ύπ' Αγαθοκλέους τάδελφώ σύνεδρος, την έναντίαν δούς γνώμην επεισεν απαντας διακαρτερείν 2 μέχρι αν πύθωνται τάληθές. "Αμίλκας δε μαθών τα δόξαντα τοις έν τη πόλει συνεπήγευε μηχανάς 3 παντοίας, διεγνωκώς προσβάλλειν. 'Αγαθοκλής δέ δύο τριακοντόρους μετά την μάχην νεναυπηγημένος την έτέραν απέστειλεν είς Συρακούσσας, ερέτας έμβιβάσας τους κρατίστους και τών περί αυτόν πιστευομένων φίλων ένα Νέαρχον, απαγγελούντα 4 τοις ίδιοις την νίκην. Επειτ' εὐπλοίας γενομένης πεμπταΐοι ταις Συρακούσσαις νύκτωρ προσεπέλασαν καί στεφανωσάμενοι καί παιανίσαντες κατά τον πλουν αμ' ήμέρα κατέπλεον επί την πόλιν. ο αί δε φυλακίδες των Καρχηδονίων αισθόμεναι κατά σπουδήν επεδίωκον και οὐ πολύ προειληφότων τών ύποφευγόντων άγων της είρεσίας έγίνετο. άμα δέ τη τούτων φιλοτιμία συνέβη τούς τε έκ της πόλεως καί τούς πολιορκούντας αισθομένους συνδραμείν έπί τον λιμένα καλ τοις ίδίοις έκατέρους συναγωνιώντας 6 άναβοᾶν θαρρείν. ήδη δέ της τριακοντόρου καταλαμβανομένης οι βάρβαροι μεν επηλάλαζαν, οι δ' έκ της πόλεως άδυνατούντες βοηθείν τοίς θεοίς ηθχοντο περί τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν καταπλεόντων. της πρώρας δε των διωκόντων είς εμβολήν ήδη φερομένης οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς γῆς ἔφθασε τὸ διωκό-

it necessary to surrender the city, since he was un- 310 s.c. manly by nature and of a disposition the direct opposite of the boldness and energy of his brother; but Erymnon the Actolian, who had been set up by Agathocles as co-ruler with his brother, expressing the contrary opinion persuaded all of them to hold out until they should hear the truth. When Hamilear learned the decision of those in the city, he constructed engines of all kinds, having determined to attack. But Agathoeles, who had built two thirtyoared ships after the battle, sent one of them to Syracuse, placing on board his strongest oarsmen and Nearchus, one of his trusted friends, who was to report the victory to his own people. Having had a fair voyage, they approached Syracuse during the night of the fifth day, and wearing wreaths and singing paeans as they sailed they reached the city at daybreak. But the picket ships of the Carthaginians caught sight of them and pursued them vigorously, and since the pursued had no great start, there arose a contest in rowing. While they were vying with each other, the folk of the city and the besiegers, seeing what was happening, both ran to the port, and each group, sharing in the anxiety of its own men, encouraged them with shouts. When the dispatch hoat was already at the point of being taken, the barbarians raised a shout of triumph, and the inhabitants of the city, since they could give no aid, prayed the gods for the safety of those who were sailing in. But when, not far from the shore, the ram of one of the pursuers was already bearing down to deliver its blow, the pursued ship succeeded in getting

The play on words ("Αντανδρος, άνανδρος) is probably intentional.

μενον σκάφος έντος βέλους γενόμενον καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων προσβοηθησάντων εξέφυγε τον κίνδυνον. 7 'Αμίλκας δ' δρών τους έκ της πόλεως δια την άγωνίαν καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς προσδοκωμένης άγγελίας έπὶ τὸν λιμένα συνδεδραμηκότας, ύπολαβών είναι μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἀφύλακτον, ἔπεμψε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς κρατίστους μετὰ κλιμάκων. ούτοι δ' εύρόντες εκλελειμμένας τὰς φυλακὰς ελαθον προσαναβάντες καὶ σχεδον αὐτῶν μεσοπύργιον ήδη κατειληφότων ή κατά το σύνηθες έφοδία παρα-8 γενομένη κατενόησε. γενομένης δε μάχης οι μέν έκ της πόλεως συνέδραμον και φθάσαντες τούς μέλλοντας τοῖς ἀναβεβηκόσι προσβοηθεῖν οὖς μὶν απέκτειναν, ους δ' από των επάλξεων κατεκρήμνιο σαν. εφ' οίς 'Αμίλκας περιαλγής γενόμενος απήγαγε την δύναμιν από της πόλεως και τοις είς Καρχηδόνα βοήθειαν εξέπεμψε μετά στρατιωτών πεντακισγιλίων.

17. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομίνοις ὁ μὲν 'Αγαθοκλῆς κρατῶν τῶν ὑπαίθρων τὰ περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα χωρία κατὰ κράτος ῆρει καὶ τῶν πόλεων
ᾶς μὲν διὰ φόβον, ᾶς δὲ διὰ τὸ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους
μῖσος προσηγάγετο. παρεμβολὴν δὲ πλησίον τοῦ
Τύνητος ὀχυρωσάμενος καὶ τὴν ἱκανὴν ἀπολιπὼν
φυλακὴν ἀνέζευξε πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττη κειμένας
πόλεις. καὶ πρώτην μὲν ἐλὼν Νέαν πόλιν κατὰ
κράτος φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο τοῖς χειρωθεῖσινεἶτα παρελθὼν ἐπ' 'Αδρύμητα πρὸς μὲν ταύτην
πολιορκίαν συνεστήσατο, Αἰλύμαν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα

inside of the range of missiles and, the Syracusans 310 a.c. having come to its aid, escaped from the danger. But when Hamiltar saw that the inhabitants of the city, because of their anxiety and because of the surprising nature of the message they now anticipated, had run together to the port, surmising that some portion of the wall was unguarded, he advanced his strongest soldiers with scaling ladders. These, finding that the guard-posts had been abandoned, ascended without being discovered; but, when they had almost taken the wall between two towers, the guard, making its rounds according to custom, discovered them. In the fighting that ensued the men of the city ran together and arrived in advance of those who were coming to reinforce the men who had scaled the wall, of whom they killed some and hurled others down from the battlements. Hamilear, greatly distressed at this, withdrew his army from the city and sent to those in Carthage a relief expedition of five thousand men.

17. Meanwhile Agathocles, who had control of the open country, was taking the strongholds about Carthage by storm; and he prevailed on some of the cities to come over to him because of fear, others because of their hatred for the Carthaginians. After fortifying a camp near Tunis 1 and leaving there an adequate garrison, he moved against the cities situated along the sea. Taking by storm the first, Neapolis, he treated the captured people humanely; then, marching against Hadrumetum, he began a siege of that city, but received Aelymas, the king

¹ Cp. chap. 8. 7, and note.

¹ Fischer believes that either the number of ships or the name of the leader has been lost.

2 των Λιβύων είς συμμαχίαν προσελάβετο. α δή πυθόμενοι οι Καρχηδόνιοι πάσαν την δύναμιν προήγαγον επί τον Τύνητα και της μεν 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατοπεδείας εκυρίευσαν, τη πόλει δε μηχανάς 3 προσαγαγόντες συνεχείς προσβολάς εποιούντο. ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής, απαγγειλάντων τινών αὐτώ τα περί τους ίδίους έλαττώματα, το μέν πολύ της δυνάμεως κατέλιπεν έπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, την δε θεραπείαν και των στρατιωτών όλίγους αναλαβών λάθρα προσήλθεν επί τινα τόπον ορεινών, ύθεν ορασθαι δυνατόν ήν αὐτόν ὑπό τει τῶν ᾿Λδρυμητινῶν καὶ τών Καρχηδονίων τών τον Τύνητα πολιορκούντων. ι νυκτός δε συντάξας τοις στρατιώταις επί πολύν τόπου πυρά κάειν, δόξαν ένεποίησε τοῦς μέν Καρχηδονίοις ώς μετά μεγάλης δυνάμεως έπ' αὐτοὺς πορευόμενος, τοῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένοις ώς άλλης δυνάμεως άδρας τοις πολεμίοις είς συμμα-5 χίαν παραγεγενημένης. αμφότεροι δε τω ψεύδει του στρατηγήματος παραλογισθέντες παραλόγως ήλαττώθησαν, οί μέν τον Τύνητα πολιορκούντες φυγύντες είς Καρχηδόνα και τας μηχανάς άπολιπόντες, οί δ' 'Αδρυμητινοί διά τον ψόβον παραο δόντες την πατρίδα. 'Αγαθοκλής δε ταύτην δι' ύμολογίας παραλαβών Θάψον είλε κατά κράτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτη πόλεων ας μεν έξεπολιόρκησεν, ας δε προσηγάγετο τὰς ἀπάσας δε πόλεις πλείους των διακοσίων κεχειρωμένος είς τους άνω τόπους της Λιβύης διενοιίτο στρατεύειν. 18. 'Αναζεύξαντος ούν αὐτοῦ καὶ πλείους ἡμέρας όδοιπορούντος Καρχηδόνιοι την έκ Σικελίας διακυμισθείσαν δύναμιν και την άλλην στρατιάν προαγαγόντες πάλιν τον Τύνητα πολιορκείν επεχείρησαν 188

of the Libyans, into alliance. On hearing of these 310 B.C. moves the Carthaginians brought their entire army against Tunis and captured the encampment of Agathocles; then, after bringing siege engines up to the city, they made unremitting attacks. But Agathoeles, when some had reported to him the reverses suffered by his men, left the larger part of his army for the siege, but with his retinue and a few of the soldiers went secretly to a place in the mountains whence he could be seen both by the people of Hadrumetum and by the Carthaginians who were besigging Tunis. By instructing his soldiers to light fires at night over a great area, he caused the Carthaginians to believe that he was coming against them with a large army, while the besieged thought that another strong force was at hand as an ally for their enemy. Both of them, deceived by the deceptive stratagem, suffered an unexpected defeat: those who were besieging Tunis fled to Carthage abandoning their siege engines, and the people of Hadrumetum surrendered their home-land because of their fright. After receiving this city on terms, Agathoeles took Thapsus by force; and of the other cities of the region some he took by storm and some he won by persuasion. When he had gained control of all the cities, which were more than two hundred in number, he had in mind to lead his army into the inland regions of Libya.

18. After Agathoeles had set out and had marched for a good many days, the Carthaginians, advancing with the force that had been brought across from Sicily and their other army, again undertook the siege

¹ τε Dindorf: της.
2 ενεποίησε Hertlein: εποίησε.

καὶ τῶν χωρίων οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πολεμίους οντων άνεκτήσαντο. 'Αγαθοκλής δέ, βιβλιαφόρων αυτώ παραγεγενημένων άπο του Τύνητος και τά πεπραγμένα τοῖς Φοίνιξι διασαφούντων, εὐθὺς ἀν-2 έστρεψεν. ώς δ' ἀπέσχε των πολεμίων σταδίους διακοσίους, κατεστρατοπέδευσε και τοις στρατιώταις πυρά κάειν απηγόρευσεν. χρησάμειος δέ νυκτοπορία προσέπεσεν αμ' ήμέρα τοῦς τε προνομεύουσι την χώραν και τοις έκτης της παρεμβολής άνευ τάξεως πλανωμένοις και φονεύσας μεν ύπερ δισχιλίους, ζωγρήσας δ' ούκ όλίγους πολλά πρός 3 το μέλλον επλεονέκτησεν. οι γαρ Καρχηδόνιοι της έκ Σικελίας προσγενομένης βοηθείας και των κατά Λιβύην συμμάχων συναγωνιζομένων έδόκουν ύπερέχειν των περί τον 'Αγαθοκλία τούτου δε τοῦ! προτερήματος γενομένου πάλιν συνεστάλη τὰ φρονήματα τῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ Λὶλύμαν τὸν βασιλέα των Λιβύων αποστάτην γενόμενον ενίκησεν μάχη και τύν τε δυνάστην και πολλούς των βαρβάρων ανείλεν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην ἐν τούτοις

7,V.

19. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Κάσανδρος μὲν βοηθήσας Αὐδολέοντι τῷ Παιόνων βασιλεῖ διαπολεμοῦντι πρὸς Αὐταριάτας, τοῦτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐρρύσατο, τοὺς δὲ Αὐταριάτας σὺν τοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσι παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ὄντας εἰς δισμυρίους κατώκισεν παρὰ τὸ καλούμενον 'Ορβηλὸν'

¹ Fischer adds ἐπὶ before τοῦ προτερήματος, ep. Books 15. 35. 1; 16, 5, 2.

² evicyour editors: evicyour.
2 evectors: evicyour.

^{4 &#}x27;Oρβηλόν Wesseling: 'Ορβηδών RX, 'Opβίταον F.

of Tunis; and they recaptured many of the positions 310 B.C. that were in the hands of the enemy. But Agathocles, since dispatch bearers had come to him from Tunis and disclosed what the Phoenicians had done, at once turned back. When he was at a distance of about two hundred stades I from the enemy, he pitched camp and forbade his soldiers to light fires. Then, making a night march, he fell at dawn upon those who were foraging in the country and those who were wandering outside their camp in disorder, and by killing over two thousand and taking captive no small number he greatly strengthened himself for the future. For the Carthaginians, now that their reinforcements from Sicily had arrived and that their Libyan allies were fighting along with them, seemed to be superior to Agathoeles; but as soon as he gained this success, the confidence of the barbarians again waned. In fact, he defeated in battle Aelymas, the king of the Libyans, who had deserted him, and slew the king and many of the barbarians.

This was the situation of affairs in Sicily and Libya.²
19. In Macedonia,³ Cassander, going to the aid of Audoleon,⁴ king of the Paeonians, who was fighting against the Autariatae,⁵ freed the king from danger, but the Autariatae with the children and women who were following them, numbering in all twenty thousand, he settled beside the mountain called Orbelus.⁴

About 23 miles.

³ Continued in chap, 29, 2,

³ Continued from Book 19, 105, 4,

⁴ Cp. Justin, 15. 2. 1. One of Audoleon's daughters married Pyrrhus of Epirus (Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 9).

⁵ A strong Illyrian people living in the Dalmatian mountains.

On the border between Thrace and Macedonia.

2 όρος. τούτου δὲ περὶ ταῦτ' ὅντος κατὰ μὲν τὴν Πελοπόννησον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ στρατηγὸς 'Αντιγόνου δυνάμεις πεπιστευμένος καὶ τῷ δυνάστη προσκόψας ώς οὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τιμώμενος 'Αντιγόνου μὲν ἀπέστη, πρὸς δὲ Κάσανδρον συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο. καταλελοιπώς δὲ τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντω σατραπείας ἐπιστάτην Φοίνικα, ἔναὶ τῶν πιστοτάτων φίλων, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας, ἀξιῶν διαφυλάττειν τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ μὴ προσέχειν 'Αντιγόνω.

3 Τῶν δὲ κοινῶν συνθηκῶν τοῦς ἡγεμόσι περιεχουσῶν ἐλευθέρας ἀφεῖσθαι τὰς Ἑλληνέδας πάλεις, οἱ περὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λὶγύπτου δυνάστην, ἐγκαλέσαντες ᾿Αντιγόνω διάτι φρουραῖς τινας διείληφε

- 4 τῶν πόλοων, πολεμεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐξαπαστείλας Πτολεμαῖος καὶ στρατηγὸν Λεωνίδην τὰς ἐν τῆ τραχεία Κιλικία πόλεις οὕσας ὑπ' 'Αντίγονον ἐχειρώσατο, διεπέμπετο δὲ καὶ εἰς² τὰς ὑπὸ Κάσανδρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον πόλεις, ἀξιῶν συμφρονεῖν ἐαυτεῦ καὶ κωλύειν 'Αντίγονον
- 5 Ισχυρον γίνεσθαι. ο δ' 'Αντίγονος τών υίων Φίλιππον μεν τον νεώτερον εξέπεμψεν εφ' Ελλήσποντον,
 διαπολεμήσοντα Φοίνικι καὶ τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι, Δημήτριον δ' ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν, ὅς ἐνεργον ποιησάμενος
 τὴν στρατείαν ἐνίκησε τοὺς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀνεκτήσατο.

20. "Αμα δέ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πολυπέρχων

ira added by Fischer.

A nephew of Antigonus, cp. Book 19, 57, 4.
 But we find that two years earlier another nephew,
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While he was thus engaged, in the Peloponnesus and not. Ptolemaeus, the general of Antigonus, who had been entrusted with an army but had taken offence at the prince because, as he said, he was not being honoured according to his deserts, revolted from Antigonus and made an alliance with Cassander. And having left as governor of the satrapy along the Hellespont one of his most faithful friends, Phoenix, Ptolemaeus sent soldiers to him, bidding him garrison the strongholds and the cities and not to obey

Antigonus.

Since the agreements common to the leaders proyided for the liberation of the Greek cities,4 Ptolemy, the ruler of Egypt, charged Antigonus with having occupied some of the cities with garrisons, and prepared to go to war. Sending his army and Leonides as its commander, Ptolemy subdued the cities in Cilicia Trachea which were subject to Antigonus; and he sent also to the cities that were controlled by Cassander and Lysimachus, asking them to cooperate with him and prevent Antigonus from becoming too powerful. But Antigonus sent Philip, the younger of his sons, to the Hellespont to fight it out with Phoenix and the rebels; and to Cilicia he sent Demetrius, who, carrying on the campaign with vigour, defeated the generals of Ptolemy and recovered the cities.

20. Meanwhile Polyperchon,5 who was biding his

Telesphorus, had revolted because he thought that Ptolemaeus was being too highly honoured, Book 19, 87, 1.

3 Probably the former follower and friend of Eumenes,

Book 18, 40, 2. 4 Cp. Book 19, 105, 1.

⁵ Polyperchon seems to have remained inactive in the Peloponnesus from 315 s.c. (Book 19, 64, 1; 74, 2) down to this time.

περί Πελοπόννησον διατρίβων και Κασάνδρω μέν έγκαλων, της δε Μακεδόνων ήγεμονίας πάλαι ορεγόμενος έκ Περγάμου μετεπέμψατο του έκ Βαρσίνης Ηρακλέα, ος ήν 'Αλεξάνδρου μέν υίος, τρεφόμενος δε εν Περγάμω, την δ' ηλικίαν περί επτακαίδεκα 2 έτη γεγονώς. ὁ δ' οὖν Πολυπέρχων διαπέμπων πολλαχού πρός τους ίδιοξένους και τους αλλοτρίως διακειμένους πρός Κάσανδρον ήξίου κατάγειν το 3 μειράκιον έπὶ την πατρώαν βασιλείων. Εγραφε δέ καί πρός το κοινον των Λίτωλων, άξιων δίοδον το δούναι και συστρατεύειν, επαγγελλόμενος πολλαπλασίους χάριτας αποδώσειν, έαν συγκατάγωσι τά μειράκιον επί την πατρώαν βαπιλείαν, τών δέ πραγμάτων αὐτώ κατὰ νοῦν γενομένων προθύμως θ' ύπακουόντων των Λίτωλών και πολλών άλλων συντρεχόντων έπὶ τὴν κάθοδον τοῦ βασιλέως, οί σύμπαντες ήθροιαθησαν πεζοί μεν ύπερ τους δισμυ-4 ρίους, ίππεις δ' ούκ ελάττους χιλίων, και Πολυπέρχων μέν περί τας είς τον πόλεμον παρασκευάς γινόμενος χρήματά τε συνήγε και πρός τους οικείως έχουτας τών Μακεδόνων διαπεμπόμενος ήξίου συνεργείν.

21. Πτολεμαΐος δε τῶν ἐν Κύπρω πόλεων κυριεύων, ἐπειδή τινων ἐπύθετο Νικοκλέα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παφίων ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἰδία πρὸς 'Αντίγονον'

It is probable that he was not a son of Alexander but a

¹ This Barsine was the daughter of Artabazus, a Persian follower of Darius (Pintarch, Mexander, 21, 4; Justin, 11, 10, 2; 13, 2, 7), and must be distinguished from the daughter of Darius whom Alexander married at Susa in 324 s.c., who is called Barsine by Arrian (7, 4, 4) but Statelea by our other sources (Book 17, 107, 6; Pintarch, Mexander, 70, 2; Justin, 12, 10, 9).

time in the Peloponnesus, and who was nursing 310 a.c. grievances against Cassander and had long craved the leadership of the Macedonians, summoned from Pergamon Barsine's son Heraeles,2 who was the son of Alexander but was being reared in Pergamon, being about seventeen years of age.3 Moreover, Polyperchon, sending to his own friends in many places and to those who were at odds with Cassander, kept urging them to restore the youth to his ancestral throne. He also wrote to the governing body of the Actolians, begging them to grant a safe conduct and to join forces with him and promising to repay the favour many times over if they would aid in placing the youth on his ancestral throne. Since the affair proceeded as he wished, the Actolians being in hearty agreement and many others hurrying to aid in the restoration of the king, in all there were assembled more than twenty thousand infantry and at least one thousand horsemen. Meanwhile Polyperchon, intent on the preparations for the war, was gathering money; and sending to those of the Macedonians who were friendly, he kept urging them to join in the undertaking.4

21. Ptolemy, however, who was master of the cities of Cyprus, on learning from certain persons that Nicocles, the king of Paphos, had secretly and

pretender sponsored by Antigonus, ep. Tarn, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 14 (1921), 18 ff.

⁵ Justin, 15. 2. 3, gives the age as fifteen years.

4 Continued in chap. 28. 1.

Nicocreon of Salamis (Book 19, 59, 1; 62, 5; 79, 5) is not identical with Nicocles of Paphos since Arrian (FGrII, 156, F 10, 6) clearly distinguishes them; but it seems certain that in this passage Diodorus has confused them, and that the fate described is that of the former (Parian Marble for 311/10 a.c., FGrII, 239, B 17).

συντεθείσθαι φιλίαν, επεμψε τίδη φίλων 'Αργαίου καὶ Καλλικράτην, προστάξας αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖν τὸν Νικοκλέα πάνυ γάρ εὐλαβεῖτο μή καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινες όρμήσωσι πρός μεταβολήν, όρωντες άθώους γεγονότας τους πρότερον άφεστηκότας. ούτοι μέν οθν πλεύσαντες είς την νησον και παρά Μενελάου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ στρατιώτας λαβύντες περιέστησαν την οίκίαν του Νικοκλέους και τα δόξαυτα τω βασιλεί δηλώσαντες προσέταξαν έπυτον απαλλάξαι 2 τοῦ ζην. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρώτον πρός την ἀπολογίαν έτρέπετο των έγκαλουμένων ώς δ' οὐδείς προσείχεν, έαυτον ἀπέκτεινεν. 'Αξιοβέα δε ή γυνή τοῦ Νικοκλέους ακούσασα την ανδρός τελευτην της μέν θυγατέρας τὰς ἐαυτής παρθένους ούσας ἀπέσφαζεν, ύπως μηδείς αὐτῶν πολέμιος κυριεύση, τὰς δὲ τῶν άδελφων των Νικοκλέους γυναίκας προετρέψατο μεθ' αὐτῆς ελέσθαι του θάνατου, οὐδου συντςταχότος Πτυλεμαίου περί των γυναικών, άλλά 3 συγκεχωρηκότος αύταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. τῶν δὲ βασιλείων πεπληρωμένων φόνων καὶ συμπτωμάτων απροσδοκήτων οι του Νικυκλέους αδελφοί συγκλείσαντες τας θύρας την μέν οίκιαν ένέπρησαν ζαυτούς δ' απέσφαξαν. ή μέν ούν των εν Πάφω βασιλέων οίκία τραγικοίς συγκυρήσασα πάθεσι τον είρημένον τρόπον κατελύθη.

Πμεις δε την απαγγελίαν των κατά την Κύπρον γεγονότων διελθόντες επί τας συνεχείς πράξεις

μεταβιβάσομεν του λόγον.

22. Περί γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς ἐν τῷ Πόντω μετὰ τὴν Παρυσάδου τελευτήν, ὂς ἦν βασιλεὺς τοῦ Κιμμερικοῦ Βοσπόρου, διετέλουν οἱ παΐδες αὐτοῦ

1 κατά την Κύπρον added by Reiske.

BOOK XX. 21, 1-22, 1

privately formed an alliance with Antigonus, dis- ato B.C. patched two of his friends, Argaeus and Callicrates, ordering them to slay Nicocles; for he was taking all precautions lest any others also should hasten to shift allegiance when they saw that those were left unpunished who had previously rebelled. These two men, accordingly, after sailing to the island and obtaining soldiers from Menelaüs the general,1 surrounded the house of Nicocles, informed him of the king's wishes and ordered him to take his own life. At first he tried to defend himself against the charges, but then, since no one heeded him, he slew himself. Axiothea, the wife of Nicocles, on learning of her husband's death, slew her daughters, who were unwed, in order that no enemy might possess them; and she urged the wives of Nicocles' brothers to choose death along with her, although Ptolemy had given no instructions in regard to the women but had agreed to their safety. When the palace had thus been filled full of death and unforeseen disaster, the brothers of Nicocles, after fastening the doors, set fire to the building and slew themselves. Thus the house of the kings of Paphos, after meeting such tragic suffering, was brought to its end in the way described.

Now that we have followed to its end the tale of what took place in Cyprus, we shall turn the course of our narrative toward the events which follow.

22. At about this same time in the region of the Pontus, after the death of Parysades, who was king of the Cimmerian Bosporus, his sous Eumelus, Satyrus,

A brother of Ptolemy, cp. Book 19, 62, 4.

διαπολεμούντες πρός άλλήλους ύπερ της ήγεμονίας, 2 Ευμηλός τε καὶ Σάτυρος καὶ Πρύτανις. τούτων δε ό μεν Σάτυρος ών πρεσβύτατος παρά του πατρός παρειλήφει την αρχήν, βεβασιλευκότος έτη τριάκοντα όκτώ ό δ' Εύμηλος φιλίαν συντεθειμένος πρός τινας των πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων και δύναμιν άδραν ήθροικώς ημφισβήτει της βασιλείας. 3 α δή πυθόμενος ο Σάτυρος ανέζευξεν επ' αυτόν μετά δυνάμεως άδρας και διαβάς του θάτην ποταμόν, επειδή πλησίου εγένετο των πολεμίων, την μέν παρεμβολήν ταις άμάξαις περιλαβών αις ήν κεκομικώς τὰς ἀγορὰς ούσας παμπληθείς, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν έκτάξας αὐτὸς κατά μέσην ύπηρχε την ψαλαγγα, 🕯 καθάπερ ἐστὶ Σκύθαις νόμιμον. συνεστρατεύοντο δ' αὐτῶ μισθοφόροι μέν "Ελληνες οὐ πλείους διαχιλίων και Θράκες τουι τούτοις, οί δε λοιποί πάντες ύπηρχον σύμμαχοι Σκύθαι, πλείους των δισμυρίων. ίππεις δε ούκ ελάττους μυρίων, τω δ' Εύμηλω συνεμάχει 'Αριφάρνης δ τῶν Σιρακῶν' βυσιλεύς, ίππεις μεν έχων δισμυρίους, πεζούς δε δισχιλίους 5 πρός τοις δισμυρίοις. γενομένης δε μάχης λαχυρίζ Σάτυρος μέν έχων περί έαυτον επιλέκτους ανδρας ίππομαχίον συνεστήσατο πρός τους περί 'Αριφάριηι' άνθεστηκότας κατά μέσην την τάξιν και πολλών παρ' αμφοτέροις πεσόντων τέλος εκβιασάμενος ο ετρέψατο του βασιλέα των βαρβάρων. και το μέν πρώτον επέκειτο φονεύων τούς αξί καταλαμβανομένους μετ' όλίγου δε πυθόμενος τον άδελφοι

¹ πρεσβύτανος Dindorf: πρεσβύτερος.
² μέν after συνεμάχει omitted by Fischer.

BOOK XX, 22, 1-6

and Prytanis were engaged in a struggle against each sto B.C. other for the primacy. Of these, Satyrus, since he was the eldest, had received the government from his father, who had been king for thirty-eight years; but Eumelus, after concluding a treaty of friendship with some of the barbarians who lived near by and collecting a strong army, set up a rival claim to the throne. On learning this, Satyrus set out against him with a strong army; and, after he had crossed the river Thates and drawn near the enemy, he surrounded his camp with the waggons in which he carried his abundant supplies, and drew up his army for battle, taking his own place in the centre of the phalanx as is the Scythian custom. Enrolled in his army were not more than two thousand Greek mercenaries and an equal number of Thracians, but all the rest were Seythian allies, more than twenty thousand foot-soldiers and not less than ten thousand horse. Eumelus, however, had as ally Aripharnes, the king of the Siraces,2 with twenty thousand horse and twenty-two thousand foot. In a stubborn battle that took place, Satyrus with picked cavalry about him charged against Aripharnes, who had stationed himself in the middle of the line; and after many had fallen on both sides, he finally forced back and routed the king of the barbarians. At first he pushed on, slaying the enemy as he overtook them; but after a little, hearing that his brother Eumelus was gaining

* A strong Sarmatian people living between Lake Macotis and the Caucasus Mountains (but ep. the critical note).

One of the streams flowing into the Macotic Lake (the Sea of Azov). The name is also given as Thapsis and Psathis.

³ Σιρακών Mueller: Θρακών.

Εύμηλον προτερείν περί το δεξιον κέρας και τους παρ' αύτῷ μισθοφόρους τετράφθαι τοῦ μέν διώκειν απέστη, παραβοηθήσας δε τοις ήττημένοις και τὸ δεύτερον αίτιος γενόμενος της νίκης απαν ετρέψατο των πολεμίων το στρατόπεδον, ώστε πασι γενέσθαι φανερον ότι και κατά γένος και κατ' άρετην προσήκου ήν αυτώ διαδέχεσθαι την πατρώαν βασιλείαν.

23. ()ί δε περί του Αριφάρνην και του Ευμηλου λειφθέντες εν τῆ μάχη συνέφυγον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. ταθτα δ' έκειτο μέν παρά του Θάτην ποταμόν, ος περιρρέων αθτά και βάθος έχων ίκανου εποίει δυσπρόσιτα, περιείχετο δέ κρημυρίς μεγάλοις, έτι δ' ύλης πλήθει, τὰς πάσας εἰσβολὰς δύο έχοιται χειροποιήτους, ων ή μεν ην έν αυτοίς τοίς βαπιλείοις, ιδχυρισμένη πύργοις ύψηλοις και προτειχίσμασιν, ή δ' εκ θατέρου μέρους εν έλεσιν υπήρχε, φρουρουμένη ξυλίνοις ερύμασι, διεστύλωτο δέ δυκοίς, ύπεράνω δε των ύδάτων είχε τας υἰκήσεις. τοιαύτης δ' ούσης της περί του τόπου όχυρότητος τό μέν πρώτον ό Σάτυρος τήν τε χώραν τών πολεμίων εδήωσε και τας κώμας ενεπύρισεν, έξ ών αίχμάλωτα σώματα και λείας πλήθος ήθροισε. 2 μετά δε ταθτα έγχειρήσης διά των παρύδων βιάζεσθαι, κατά μέν το προτείχισμα καὶ τους πύργους πολλούς αποβαλών των στρατιωτών απεχώρησε, κατά δὲ τὰ ἔλη βιασάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν ξυλίνων

2 \$ 8' ex Barépou Disklurf : \$ 82 xab' érépou.

¹ Cyorta Dindorf: Cyorti,

δέ δοκοίς Reiske, Madvig, δ' ν' δυκοίς Bekker: δ' οίκοις RX, δ' εδ κίσσιν 2nd hand in R. In F the pussage reads as follows: ... υπήρχε φρουραυμένη ξυλίνοις δε πείσμασι διεστύλωτο ύπεράνω . . .

the upper hand on the right wing and that his own storage mercenaries had been turned to flight, he gave up the pursuit. Going to the aid of those who had been worsted and for the second time becoming the author of victory, he routed the entire army of the enemy, so that it became clear to all that, by reason both of his birth and of his valour, it was proper that he should succeed to the throne of his fathers.

23. Aripharnes and Eumelus, however, after having been defeated in the battle, escaped to the capital city.1 This was situated on the Thates River, which made the city rather difficult of access since the river encircled it and was of considerable depth. The city was surrounded also by great cliffs and thick woods, and had only two entrances, both artificial, of which one was within the royal castle itself and was strengthened with high towers and outworks, and the other was on the opposite side in swampy land, fortified by wooden palisades, and it rested upon piles at intervals and supported houses above the water. Since the strength of the position was so great, Satyrus at first plundered the country of the enemy and fired the villages, from which he collected prisoners and much booty. Afterwards, however. he attempted to make his way by force through the approaches. At the outworks and towers he lost many of his soldiers and withdrew, but he forced a passage through the swamp and captured the wooden

¹ i.e. the capital city of King Aripharnes.

3 φρουρίων. ταθτα δέ διαρπάσας και διαβάς τον ποταμον ήρξατο κόπτειν την ύλην, δι' ής αναγκαίον ήν έλθειν επί τα βασίλεια. τούτων δέ ενεργώς συντελουμένων 'Αριφάρνης ο βασιλεύς άγωνιάσας μή κατά κράτος άλωναι συμβή την άκρόπολιν, διηγωνίζετο τολμηρότερον, ώς εν μόνω τω νικάν 4 κειμένης της σωτηρίας. διείλετο δε καί τούς τοξότας έπ' άμφότερα τὰ μέρη τῆς παρόδου, δι' ὧν ραδίως κατετίτρωσκε τους την ύλην κόπτυντας, μη δυναμένους μήτε προοράσθαι τὰ βέλη μήτ' άμύνεαθαι τους βάλλοντας δια την πυκνότητα των 5 δένδρων, οί δὲ περί τὸν Σάτυρον ἐπὶ τρεῖς μὲν ήμέρας έτεμνον την ύλην, όδυποιούμενοι καὶ διακαρτερούντες επιπόνως τη δέ τετάρτη συνήγγισαν μέν τῶ τείχει, νικώμενοι δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῆ τῶν τόπων στενοχωρία μεγάλοις ελαττώμασι ε περιέπιπτον. Μενίσκος μεν γαρ ό των μισθοφόρων ήγεμών, άνηρ και συνίσει και τόλμη διαφέρων, προσπεσών διά της διόδου πρός το τείχος και μετά τών περί έαυτον λαμπρώς άγωνισάμενος έξεβιάσθη, 7 πολλαπλασίων επ' αὐτὸν ἐπεξελθόντων. Ον ίδων δ Σάτυρος κινδυνεύοντα ταχέως παρεβοήθει καὶ τὴν επιφοράν των πολεμίων ύποστάς ετρώθη λόγχη διά τοῦ βραγίονος καὶ κακώς ἀπαλλάττων ὑπό τοῦ τραύματος επανήλθεν είς την παρεμβολήν και νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον, ἐννέα μόνον μήνας βασιλεύσας μετά την του πατρός τελευτήν 8 Παρυσάδου. Μενίσκος δ' δ τῶν μισθοφόρων ήγεμών λύσας την πολιορκίαν απήγαγε την δύναμιν είς Γάργαζαν πόλιν κάκείθεν το του βασιλέως 202

BOOK XX, 23, 2-8

barricades. After destroying these and crossing the 310 B.C. river, he began to cut down the woods through which it was necessary to advance to reach the palace. While this was being energetically carried on, King Aripharnes, alarmed lest his citadel should be taken by storm, fought against him with great boldness since he believed that in victory alone lay hope of safety. He stationed archers on both sides of the passage, by whose aid he easily inflicted mortal wounds on the men who were cutting down the woods, for because of the density of the trees they could neither see the missiles in time nor strike back at the archers. The men of Satyrus for three days went on cutting down the woods and making a roadway, bearing up amid hardship; on the fourth day they drew near to the wall but they were overcome by the great number of missiles and by the confined space, and sustained great losses. Indeed, Meniscus, the leader of the mercenaries, a man excelling in sagacity and boldness, after pushing forward through the passage to the wall and fighting brilliantly together with his men, was forced to withdraw when a much stronger force came out against him. Seeing him in danger, Satyrus quickly came to his aid; but, while withstanding the onrush of the enemy, he was wounded with a spear through the upper arm. Grievously disabled because of the wound, he returned to the camp and when night came on he died, having reigned only nine months after the death of his father Parysades. But Meniscus, the leader of the mercenaries, giving up the siege, led the army back to the city Gargaza,1 whence he conveyed the king's body by

² Probably the same as the city called Gerousa by Ptolemy, Geography, 5, 8, 2.

σωμα διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διεκόμισεν εἰς Παντικάπαιον

πρός του άδελφου Πρύτανιν.

21. "Os ταφήν συντελέσας μεγαλοπρεπή καί καταθέμενος είς τὰς βασιλικὰς θήκας τὸ σῶμα ταχέως ήκεν είς Γάργαζαν και την δύναμιν άμα και την δυναστείαν παρέλαβεν. Εθμήλου δε διαπρεσβευομένου περί μέρους της βασιλείας τούτοι μέν ού προσείχεν, έν δε Γαργάζη φρουράν απολιπών έπανήλθεν είς Παντικάπαιον, ασφαλισόμενος τα κατά την βασιλείαν. καθ' ον δη χρόνον Εύμηλος, συναγωνισαμένων αὐτῷ τῶν βαρβάρων, τήν τε Γάργαζαν κατελάβετο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολισμάτων καὶ 2 χωρίων οὐκ όλίγα, ἐπιστρατεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος μάγη το ενώτησε του αδελφον και συγκλείσας είς του Ισθμού του πλησίου της Μαιώτιδος λίμνης συνηνώγκασεν όμολογίας θέσθαι, καθ' άς τούς τε στρατιώτας παρέδωκε και της βασιλείας έκχωρείν ώμολόγησεν. ώς δε παρεγένετο είς Παντικάπαιον, εν ώ το βασίλειον ήν αεί των εν Βοσπόρω βασιλευσάντων, επεχείρησε μεν πάλιν ανακτάσθαι την βασιλείων, κατισχυθείς δέ και φυγών είς τούς 3 καλουμένους Κήπους άνηρέθη. Ευμηλος δε μετά τον των άδελφων θάνατον βουλύμενος ασφαλώς θέσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνείλε τούς τε φίλους των περί του Σάτυρον και Πρύτανιν, έτι δε τάς γυναϊκας και τὰ τέκνα. μόνος δὲ διέφυγεν αὐτὸν ό παις ό Σατύρου Παρυσάδης, νέος ῶν παντελώς την ηλικίαν εξιππεύσας γάρ έκ της πόλεως κατέφυγε πρός "Αγαρον τον βασιλέα των Σκυθών.

¹ For ποταμού Fischer in apparatus suggests πορθμού; cp. Strabo, 9. 2. 6.

BOOK XX, 23, 8-24, 3

way of the river 1 to Panticapaeum to his brother, 310 B.C

Prytanis.

24. Prytanis, after celebrating a magnificent funeral and placing the body in the royal tombs, came quickly to Gargaza and took over both the army and the royal power. When Eumelus sent envoys to discuss a partition of the kingdom, he did not heed him but he left a garrison in Gargaza and returned to Panticapacum in order to secure the royal prerogatives for himself. During this time Eumelus with the co-operation of the barbarians captured Gargaza and several of the other cities and villages. When Prytanis took the field against him, Eumelus defeated his brother in battle; and, after shutting him up in the isthmus a near the Macotic Lake, he forced him to accept terms according to which he gave over his army and agreed to vacate his place as king. However, when Prytanis entered Panticapaeum, which had always been the capital of those who had ruled in Bosporus, he tried to recover his kingdom; but he was overpowered and fled to the so-called Gardens,2 where he was slain. After his brothers' death Eumelus, wishing to establish his power securely, slew the friends of Satyrus and Prytanis, and likewise their wives and children. The only one to escape him was Parysades, the son of Satyrus, who was very young; he, riding out of the city on horseback, took refuge with Agarus, the king of

Or, reading πορθμού: "through the straits."

Probably the modern Taman on the isthmus just referred to.

Probably the isthmus to the east of the Cimmerian Bosporus, separating the Macotic Lake from the Euxine.
 Probably the modern Taman on the isthmus just referred

⁴ King Agarus is otherwise unknown, but Appian, Mithridatic War, 88, mentions a Scythian people called the Agari.

άγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν οἰκείων συναγαγών εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ πλήθη περί τε τούτων ἀπελογήσατο καὶ τὴν πάτριου πολιτείαν ἀποκατέστησεν. συνεχώρησε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων οὖσαν τοῖς Παντικάπαιον οἰκοῦσι. προσεπηγγείλατο δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν ἄπαντας ἀφήσειν καὶ πολλὰ διελέχθη 5 δημαγωγῶν τὰ πλήθη. ταχὺ δὲ πάντων εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εἴνοιαν ἀποκαταστάντων διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐβασίλευεν ἄρχων νημίμως τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐ μετρίως

θαυμαζόμενος.

25. Βυζαντίους μεν γάρ και Σινωπεϊς και τών άλλων Έλλήνων τών τόν Πόντον περιοικούντου τους πλείστους διετέλευεν εὐεργετών Καλλαντιανών δι πολιορκουμένων ύπό Λυσιμάχου και πιεζουμένων τἢ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων χιλίους ὑπεδέξατο τοὺς διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν ἐκχωρήσαντας. οἰς οὐ μόνον τῆς καταψυγῆς παρέσχετο τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε κατοικεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοιτοις τὴν ὀνωμαζομένην Ύσανκαητικὴν χώραν κατεκληρούχησεν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν πλεοντων τὸν Πόντον πόλεμον ἐξενέγκας πρὸς τοὺς ληστεύειν εἰωθύτας βαρβάρους Πνιόχους καὶ Ταύρους, ἔτι δ' Λχαιοὺς καθαρὰν ληστών ἀπέδειξε τὴν θάλασσαν, ὧστε μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδόν τὴν οἰκουμένην, διαγγελλόντων τῶν ἐμπόρων τὴν μεγα-

1 περιοικούντων l'ischer in apparatus : οἰκούντων.

² Чошкалткір Madvig, прртоved by Erscher in apparatus: Чова кал тір.

⁴ In 313 a.c. Lysimachus had begun a siege of Callantla 206

BOOK XX, 24, 4-25, 2

the Scythians. Since the citizens were angry at the side slaughter of their kinsmen, Eumelus summoned the people to an assembly in which he defended himself in this matter and restored the constitution of their fathers. He even granted to them the immunity from taxation that those who lived in Panticapaeum had enjoyed under his ancestors. He promised also to free all of them from special levies, and he discussed many other measures as he sought the favour of the people. When all had been promptly restored to their former goodwill by his benevolence, from that time on he continued to be king, ruling in a constitutional way over his subjects and by his

excellence winning no little admiration.

25. For Eumelus continued to show kindness to the people of Byzantium and to those of Sinopê and to most of the other Greeks who lived on the Pontus; and when the people of Callantia were besieged by Lysimachus and were hard pressed by lack of food,1 he took under his care a thousand who had left their homes because of the famine. Not only did he grant them a safe place of refuge, but he gave them a city in which to live and allotted to them the region called Psoancaëtice.2 In the interests of those who sailed on the Pontus he waged war against the barbarians who were accustomed to engage in piracy, the Heniochians, the Taurians, and the Achaeans; and he cleared the sea of pirates, with the result that. not only throughout his own kingdom but even throughout almost all the inhabited world, since the merchants carried abroad the news of his nobility, he

concerning the outcome of which we have no information, Cp. Book 19, 73.

λοψυχίων, απολαμβάνειν της εθεργεσίας καρπον 3 κάλλιστον τὸν επαινον. προσεκτήσατο δὲ καὶ τῆς συνοριζούσης βαρβάρου πολλήν και την βασιλείαν επιφανεστίραν επί πολύ κατεσκεύασε. καθόλου δ' ἐπεχείρησε πάντα τὰ περὶ τον Πόντον ἔθνη καταστρέφεσθαι και τάχα αν εκράτησε της επιβολής εί μη σύντομον έσχε την του βίου τελευτήν. πέντε γαρ έτη και τους ίσους μήνας βασιλεύσας κατέστρεψε τον βίον, παραδόξω συμπτώματι χρη-4 σάμενος. έκ γάρ της Σινδικής επανιών είς την οίκείαν και υπούδων πρώς τινα θυσίαν ήλαυνε μέν επί τινος τεθρίππου πρός τὰ βασίλεια, τοῦ δ' αρματος όντος τετρακύκλου και ακηνήν έχουτος συνέβη τους εππους διαταραχθέντας έξενεγκείν αὐτόν. τοῦ γὰρ ἡνιόχου μὴ δυναμένου κρατήσαι τῶν ήνιων, φοβηθείς μή κατενεχθή πρός τὰς φάραγγας, επεχείρησεν αφάλλεσθαι έμπλακέντος δε του ξίφους είς του τροχού συνεφειλκύοθη τη φορά και παραγρημα ετελεύτησεν.

26. Περί δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τελευτῆς Εὐμήλου τε καὶ Σατύρου παραδεδυνται χρησμοί, μικρὸν μὲν ἡλιθιώτεροι πιστευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. τῶ μὰν γὰρ Σατύρω λέγουσι χρῆσαι τὸν θεὸν φυλάξασθαι τὸν μῶν μήποτ' αὐτὸν ἀνέλη. διόπερ οὕτε δοῦλον οὕτ' ἐλεύθερον τῶν τεταγμένων ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν εἴα τοῦτ' ἔχειν τοὕνομα. ἔπειτα δὲ τυὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀρούραις ἐφοβεῖτο μῶς καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἀεὶ συνέταττε τούτους ὰποκτείνειν καὶ τὰς κοίτας ἐμπλώττειν. πάντα δ' ἐνδεχυμένως αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντος οῖς ῷετο κατισχύσειν τὸ πεπρωμένον, κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον πληγείς τοῦ βραχίονος

1 Σωδικής Wesseling: Ίνδικής RX, Σκιθικής F.

received that highest reward of well-doing-praise. 310 B.T. He also gained possession of much of the adjacent region inhabited by the barbarians and made his kingdom far more famous. In sum, he undertook to subdue all the nations around the Pontus, and possibly he would have accomplished his purpose if his life had not been suddenly cut off. For, after he had been king for five years and an equal number of months, he died, suffering a very strange mishap. As he was returning home from Sindice and was hurrying for a sacrifice, riding to his palace in a four-horse carriage which had four wheels and a canopy, it happened that the horses were frightened and ran away with him. Since the driver was unable to manage the reins, the king, fearing lest he be earried to the ravines, tried to jump out; but his sword eaught in the wheel,1 and he was dragged along by the motion of the carriage and died on the spot.

26. About the death of the brothers, Rumelus and Satyrus, prophecies have been handed down, rather silly yet accepted among the people of the land. They say that the god had told Satyrus to be on his guard against the mouse lest it sometime cause his death. For this reason he permitted neither slave nor freeman of those assigned to his service to have this name; and he also feared domestic and field mice and was always ordering his slaves to kill them and block up their holes. But, although he did everything possible by which he thought to ward off his doom, he died, struck in the upper arm through the

^{1 ()}r possibly, "in the hoop that supported the canopy," ep. chap. 26. 2.

2 εἰς τὸν μῦν. τῷ δ' Εὐμήλω χρησμὸς ἦν τὴν φερομένην οἰκίαν φυλάξασθαι. ὅθεν πάλιν οῦτος είς οίκιαν ούκ είσηει προχείρως μη προδιερευνησάντων των παίδων την οροφήν και τα θεμέλια. τελευτήσαντος δε αύτοῦ διά τὴν ὀχουμένην ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθρίππου σκηνήν έκαστος ύπελάμβανε τετελέσθαι τον χρησμόν.

3 Καὶ περί μέν τῶν ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρω πραχθέντων

άλις ήμων έχέτω.

Κατά δέ την Ιταλίαν οι των Γωμαίων υπατοι μετά δυνάμεως εμβαλόντες είς την πολεμίαν ενίκησαν μάγη Σαμνίτας περί το καλούμενον Γάλιον. των δ' ήττηθέντων καταλαμβανομένων τον Ιςροι λόφον ονομαζόμενον τότε μέν της νυκτός έπιλαβούσης οί 'Ρωμαΐοι πρός την ίδιαν στρατοπεδείαι απεχώρησαν, τη δ' ύστεραία πάλιν μάχης γενομένης πολλοί μέν άνηρέθησαν των Σαμνιτών. αίγμάλωτοι δ' ελήφθησαν ύπερ τους διοχιλίους 4 καὶ διακοσίους. τοιούτων δὲ προτερημάτων γενομένων τοις 'Ρωμαίοις άδεως ήδη των ύπαίθρων συνέβαινε κυριεύειν τους υπάτους και τας απειθούσας των πόλεων χειρούσθαι. Καταράκταν μέν ούν καὶ Κεραυνιλίαν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες φρουρούς ἐπέθηκαν, των δ' άλλων τινάς πείσαντες προσηγάγοντο. 27. Έπ' ἄρχοντος δ' 'Αθήνησι Δημητρίου τοῦ

Φαληρέως την υπατον άρχην έν 'Ρώμη παρέλαβον Κόιντος Φάβιος το δεύτερον και Γάιος Μάρκιος.

¹ πολιμίου Burger, 'Απουλίαν Kaerst, Καμπανίαν Binneboessel: Irakiar.

¹ The word µos is found in medical writers with the mean-210

"mouse." In the case of Eumelus the warning was 310 a.c. that he should be on guard against the house that is on the move. Therefore he never afterward entered a house freely unless his servants had previously examined the roof and the foundations. But when he died because of the canopy that was carried on the four-horse chariot, all agreed that the prophecy had been fulfilled.

Concerning the events that took place in the Bos-

porus, let this suffice us.

In Italy the Roman consuls with an army invaded the hostile territory and defeated the Samuites in battle at the place called Talium. When the defeated had occupied the place named the Holy Mount, the Romans for the moment withdrew to their own camp since night was coming on; but on the next day a second battle was waged in which many of the Samnites were killed and more than twenty-two hundred were taken prisoners. After such successes had been won by the Romans, it came to pass that their consuls from then on dominated the open country with impunity and overcame the cities which did not submit. Taking Cataracta and Ceraunilia by siege, they imposed garrisons upon them, but some of the other cities they won over by persuasion.4

27. When Demetrius of Phalcrum was archon in suo n.c. Athens, in Rome Quintus Fabius received the consulship for the second time and Gaius Marcius for the ing "muscle." Cp. the Latin musculus, literally "little

2 Literally, "the house that moves itself," or "the house

The campaign that follows is not mentioned in other sources and the places named are all unknown. The narrative is continued from Book 19, 105, 5.

4 Continued in chap, 35, 1.

έπὶ δὲ τούτων Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Λιγύπτου βασιλεύων πυθόμενος τοὺς ιδίωυς στρατηγοὺς ἀποβεβληκέναι τὰς ἐν Κιλικία πόλεις, πλεύσας μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Φασήλιδα ταύτην μὲν ἐξεπολιόρκησεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Λυκίαν παρακυμισθεὶς Ξάνθον φρουρου-

2 μένην ὑπ' 'Λντιγόνου κατὰ κράτος είλεν. είτα τῆ Καύνω προσπλεύσας τὴν μεν πόλιν παρέλαβε, τὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις φρουρουμένας τῆ βία κατισχύσας τὸ μεν 'Ηράκλειον εξείλε, τὸ δὲ Περσικὸν παραδόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑποχείριον ἐποιήσατο.

3 μετά δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Κῶν πλεύσας μετεπέμψατο Πτολεμαῖον, ὅς ῶν ἀδελφιδοῦς 'Λντιγόνου καὶ δύναμιν πεπιστευμένος τοῦτον μὲν κατέλιπε πρὸς δὲ Πτολεμαῖον κοινοπραγίαν ἐτίθετο. πλεύσαιτος δὶ ἐκ τῆς Χαλκίδος αὐτοῦ καὶ κομισθέντος εἰς Κῶν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος φιλανθρώπως αὐτὸν προσεδέξατο· εἶτα όρῶν πεφρονηματισμένον καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὁμιλίαις καὶ δωρεαῖς ἐξιδιοποιούμενον, φοβηθεὶς μή τινα ἐπιβουλὴν μηχανήσηται, φθάσας αὐτὸν συνέλαβε καὶ πιεῖν κώνιον συνηνάγκασε. τοὺς δὲ συνηκολουθηκότας στρατιώτας ἐπαγγελίαις δημαγωγήσας κατέμιξε τοῖς μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ στρατευομένοις.

28. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πολυπέρχων μὲν ἠθροικὼς άδρὰν δύναμιν κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν 'Πρακλέα τὸν 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Βαρσίνης, Κάσανδρος δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Στυμφαίαν ἦκεν μετὰ

¹ Στυμφαίαν Palmer: Στυμφαλίαν,

Denetrius was arelion in 309/8 n.c. In the Fasti the consuls for 310 n.c. are Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus for 212

first.1 While these were in office, Ptolemy, the king 300 u.c. of Egypt, hearing that his own generals had lost the cities of Cilicia, sailed with an army to Phaselis and took this city. Then, crossing into Lycia, he took by storm Xanthus, which was garrisoned by Antigonus. Next he sailed to Caunus and won the city; and violently attacking the citadels, which were held by garrisons, he stormed the Heraeleum, but he gained possession of the Persicum when its soldiers delivered it to him. Thereafter he sailed to Cos and sent for Ptolemacus, who, although he was the nephew of Antigonus and had been entrusted by him with an army, had deserted his uncle and was offering cooperation to Ptolemy.3 When Ptolemaeus had sailed from Chalcis and had come to Cos, Ptolemy at first received him graciously; then, on discovering that he had become presumptuous and was trying to win over the leaders to himself by conversing with them and giving them gifts, fearing lest he should devise some plot, he forestalled this by arresting him and compelled him to drink hemlock. As for the soldiers who had followed Ptolemaeus, after Ptolemy had won their favour through promises, he distributed them among the men of his own army.

28. Meanwhile Polyperchon, who had collected a strong army, brought back to his father's kingdom Heracles, the son of Alexander and Barsine ; but when he was in camp at the place called Stymphaeum,

the second time and C. Marcius Rutilus, who was later called Censorinus. Cp. Livy, 9, 33. The narrative is continued from chap. 21.

² Both Phaselis and Xanthus are in Lycia, the former on the cast, the latter on the west coast of the promontory. Caunus is in Caria. ⁵ Cp. chap. 19. 2. ⁴ Cp. chap. 20, and note.

A region of Epirus, also called Tymphacum.

της δυνάμεως. οὐ μακράν δέ τῶν παρεμβολών απεγουσών αλλήλων και των Μακεδόνων ούκ αηδώς δρώντων την κάθοδον του βασιλέως, δείσας ό Κάσανδρος μήποτε φύσει πρός μεταβολήν όντες όξεις οι Μακεδόνες αὐτομολήσωσι πρός τον Πρα-2 κλέα, διεπρεσβεύσατο πρός Πολυπέρχουτα. καί περί μεν του βασιλέως επειράτο διδάσκειν αὐτον ότι γινομένης της καθόδου ποιήσει το προστιττόμενον υφ' έτέρων, συναγωνισάμενος δε αύτω καί τον νεανίσκον ανελών παραχρήμα μέν απολήψεται τάς προγεγενημένας κατά Μακεδονίαν δωρεάς, είτα και δύναμιν αναλαβών στρατηγός αποδειχθήσεται περί Πελοπόννησον και πάντων των έν τη δυναστεία τη Κασάνδρου κοινωνός έσται, τιμώμενος διαφόρως. πέρας δε πολλαίς και μεγάλαις επανγελίαις πείσας του Πολυπέρχουτα καὶ συνθήκας έν απορρήτοις συνθέμενος προετρέψατο δολοφονήσαι 3 τον βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Πολυπέρχων ανελών τον νεανίσκου και φανερώς κοινοπραγών τοις περί του Κάσανδρον τάς τ' εν τη Μακεδονία δωρεάς εκομίσατο καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας παρέλαβε στρατιώτας πεζούς μέν Μακεδόνας τετρακισχιλίους, ίππεις δέ 4 Θετταλούς πεντακοσίους. προσλαβόμενος δέ καί των άλλων τους βουλομένους επεχείρησε μεν διά της Βοιωτίας προάγειν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ὑπὸ δὸ Βοιωτών και Πελοποννησίων κωλυθείς ανέστρεψε καί προελθών είς Λοκρούς ένταῦθα την παραγειμασίαν ἐποιείτο.

29. "Λμα δέ τούτοις πραττομένοις Λυσίμαχος

¹ For further details of the nurder cp. Plutarch, De falsa 214

Cassander arrived with his army. As the camps were 300 BC. not far distant from each other and the Macedonians regarded the restoration of the king without disfavour, Cassander, since he feared lest the Macedonians, being by nature prone to change sides easily. should sometime descrito Heracles, sent an embassy to Polyperchon. As for the king, Cassander tried to show Polyperchon that if the restoration should take place he would do what was ordered by others; but, he said, if Polyperchon joined with him and slew the stripling, he would at once recover what had formerly been granted him throughout Macedonia, and then, after receiving an army, he would be appointed general in the Pelopounesus and would be partner in everything in Cassander's realm, being honoured above all. Finally he won Polyperchon over by many great promises, made a secret compact with him, and induced him to murder the king.1 When Polyperchon had slain the youth and was openly co-operating with Cassander, he recovered the grants in Macedonia and also, according to the agreement, received four thousand Macedonian foot-soldiers and five hundred Thessalian horse. Enrolling also those of the others who wished, he attempted to lead them through Bocotia into the Peloponnesus; but, when he was prevented by Bocotians and Peloponnesians, he turned aside, advanced into Locris, and there passed the winter.3

29. While these events were taking place, Lysi-

pudicitia, 4 (p. 530); Justin, 15. 2. 3. According to Justin, 15. 1. 1, Polyperchon was already dead at the time of the murder.

² The winter of 309/8 s.c. Henceforth Polyperchon plays a very minor part; in 303 s.c. he is mentioned as a supporter of Cassander (chap. 103, 6-7).

μεν εν Χερρονήσω πόλιν εκτισεν αφ' εαυτοῦ Λυσιμαχίαν καλέσας. Κλεομένης δ' ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ὅρξας ἔτη ἐξήκοντα
καὶ μῆνας δέκα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ
'Λρεὺς . . . υἰὸς' ἦρξεν ἔτη τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς
τεσσαράκοντα.

Η Περί δε τους αυτους καιρους 'Αμίλκας ο των εν Σικελία δυνάμεων στρατηγός τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χωρίων χειρωσάμενος προήγεν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσσας, ὡς καὶ ταύτας αἰρήσων κατὰ κράτως.

3 την μέν οὖν σιτοπομπείαν διεκώλυε πολὺν ήδη χρόνον θαλασσοκρατῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καρποὺς καταφθείρας ἐπεβάλετο καταλαβέσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸ 'Ολυμπιεῖον' τόπους, κειμένους μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ προσβάλλειν ἐξ ἐφόδου τοῖς τείχεσι διεγνώκει, τοῦ μάντεως εἰρηκότος αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἱερῶν ὅτι τῆ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμέρα 4 πάντως ἐν Συρακούσσαις δειπνήσει. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέπεμψαν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν νυκτὸς περὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ τῶν ἱππέων περὶ τετρακοσίους, προστάξαντες 5 καταλαβέσθαι τὸν Εὐρύηλον. ταχὺ δὲ τούτων τὸ παραγγελθὲν πραξάντων οἱ Καρχηδόνωι νυκτὸς οὕσης προσῆγον, νομίζοντες λήσεσθαι τοὺς πολε-

* 'Ohummetor Post, cp. Book 16, 68, 1, 83, 2: 'Ohummor.

¹ δ' Λρέτα κίος R.Y., δ' Λρέον κέος F. Post suggests the loss of a line, e.g., δ' Λρεύς Κυίωνδε ῶν Κλεωμένους, ' Λκροτάτου δές κέος ep. Plutarch, Agis, 3.

machus founded a city in the Chersonesus, calling it 200 B.c. Lysimachea after himself.1 Cleomenes, the king of the Lacedaemonians, died after having ruled sixty years and ten months 2; and Areus, grandson of Cleomenes and son of Acrotatus, succeeded to the

throne and ruled for forty-four years.

At about this time Hamilcar, the general of the armies in Sieily, after gaining possession of the remaining outposts, advanced with his army against Syracuse, intending to take that city also by storm. He prevented the importation of grain since he had controlled the sea for a long time; and after destroying the crops on the land he now undertook to capture the region about the Olympieum, which lies before the city. Immediately on his arrival, however, he also decided to attack the walls, since the soothsayer had said to him at the inspection of the victims that on the next day he would certainly dine in Syracuse. But the people of the city, learning the intention of their enemy, sent out at night about three thousand of their infantry and about four hundred of their eavalry, ordering them to occupy Euryelus.6 These quickly carried out the orders; but the Carthaginians advanced during the night, believing that they would

In Book 15, 60, 4 (370 a.c.) we are wrongly told that the reign lasted for 34 years.

The translation follows the reading suggested in the critical note.

4 Continued from chap. 18. 3.

South of the city on the shore of the Great Harbour, near

the mouth of the Anapus River.

The narrow entrance at the west end of the plateau, Epipolae, which lies above the city on the west and overlooks the valley of the Anapus River.

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¹ The settlers came from the city of Cardia, which had been destroyed by Lysimachus (Pausanias, 1, 9, 8).

μίους. ήγειτο μέν οὖν 'Αμίλκας πάντων, έχων τούς αξί περί έαυτον τεταγμένους, επηκολούθει δέ Δεινοκράτης, των ίππέων είληφως την ήγεμονίαν. 6 το δε των πεζων στρατύπεδον είς δύο φάλαγγας διήρητο, τήν τε των βαρβάρων και την των συμμαχούντων Ελλήνων. παρηκολούθει δέ καὶ πλήθος οχλου παντοδαπον εκτύς της τάξεως ώφελείας ένεκα, χρείαν μέν στρατιωτικήν οὐδεμίαν παρεχόμενου, θορύβου δέ και ταραχής αλόγου γινύμενον αίτιου, έξ ὧν πολλάκις όλοσχερέστεροι συμβαίνουσι 7 κίνδυνοι. καὶ τότε δὲ τῶν όδῶν στενῶν οὐσῶν καὶ τραχειών οί μεν τὰ σκευοφόρα κομίζοντες καὶ των έκτος της τάξεως συνακολουθούντων τινές έβάδιζον πρός άλλήλους φιλοτιμούμενοι περί της όδοιπορίας στενοχωρουμένου δέ τοῦ πλήθους καί διά τουτό τισιν έγγενομένης άψιμαχίας και πολλών έκατέροις παραβοηθούντων κραυγή και πολύς θόρυβος κατείχε τὸ ατρατόπεδον.

Καθ' ὅν δὴ χρόνον οἱ κατειληφότες τὸν Γιὐρύηλον Συρακόσιοι μετὰ θορύβου προσιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθύμενοι καὶ τόπους ἔχοντες ὑπερδεξίους ὑπριησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦς ὑψηλοῖς ἐστῶτες ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἐπιόντας, τινὲς δὲ τοὺς εὐκαίρους τῶν τόπων καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν τοὺς φεύγοντας ρίπτειν ἐαυτοὺς ἡνάγκαζον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὑπελήφθησαν μεγάλη δυνάμει παραγεγονέναι πρὸς τὴν 218

not be seen by the enemy. Now Hamilton was in the 800 u.c. foremost place with those who were regularly arrayed about him, and he was followed by Deinocrates,1 who had received command of the cavalry. The main body of the foot-soldiers was divided into two phalanxes, one composed of the barbarians and one of the Greek allies. Outside the ranks a mixed crowd of rabble also followed along for the sake of booty, men who are of no use whatever to an army, but are the source of turnult and irrational confusion. from which the most extreme dangers often arise. And on this occasion, since the roads were narrow and rough, the baggage train and some of the campfollowers kept jostling each other as they competed for the right of way; and, since the crowd was pressed into a narrow space and for this reason some became involved in brawls and many tried to help each side, great confusion and tumult prevailed in the army.

At this point the Syracusans who had occupied Euryelus, perceiving that the enemy were advancing in confusion whereas they themselves occupied higher positions, charged upon their opponents.² Some of them stood on the heights and sent missiles at those who were coming up, some by occupying advantageous positions blocked the barbarians from the passage, and others forced the fleeing soldiers to cast themselves down the cliffs; for on account of the darkness and the lack of information the enemy supposed that the Syracusans had arrived with a large force for the

¹ A Syracusan exile, ep. Book 19, 8, 6.

² In spite of the picturesque details that follow, the fighting probably took place in the Anapus Valley, west and south of Euryclus and Epipolae (Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 4, 2, 192).

10 επίθεσιν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐδίων ταραχήν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφάνειαν ἐλαττούμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν τόπων καὶ στενοχωρίαν ἀπορούμενοι πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. οὐκ ἐχόντων δὲ τῶν τόπων εὐρυχωρῆ διέξοδον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱδίων ἱππέων συνεπατοῦντο πολλῶν ἄντων, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς πολέμιοι διεμίχοντο, τῆς ἀγνοίας ἐπισχούσης 11 διὰ τὴν νύκτα. ᾿Λμίλκας δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπέστη τοὺς πολεμίους εὐρώστως καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν τεταγμένους ἡξίου συγκινδυνεύειν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τὸν φόβον ἐγκαταλιπύντων

αὐτὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν μονωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων συνηρπάγη.

30. Εἰκότως δ' ἄν τις παρασημήναιτο τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ παράλογον τῶν παρὰ τὰς ὑπολήψεις συντελουμένων παρ' ἀνθρώποις. 'Λγαθοκλῆς μὰν γὰρ ἀνδρεία διαφέρων καὶ πολλὴν δύναμιν ἐσχηκὼς τὴν συναγωνισαμένην περὶ τὸν 'Ιμέραν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡττήθη κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς υτρατιῶς τὴν κρατίστην καὶ πλείστην ἀπέβαλεν οἱ δὲ τειχήρεις ἀποληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις μικρῷ μέρει τῶν προηττηθέντων οὐ μόνον τὴν πολιορκήσασαν δύναμιν ἐχειρώσαντο τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν 'Λμίλκαν, ἐπιφανέστατον ὅντα τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐζώγρησαν καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, δώδεκα μυριάδας πεζῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἐππεῖς ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς 220

attack. The Carthaginians, being at a disadvantage 300 me. partly because of the confusion in their own ranks and partly because of the sudden appearance of the enemy, and in particular at a loss because of their ignorance of the locality and their cramped position, were driven into flight. But since there was no broad passage through the place, some of them were trodden down by their own horsemen, who were numerous, and others fought among themselves as if enemies, ignorance prevailing because of the darkness. Hamilear at first withstood the enemy stoutly and exhorted those drawn up near him to join with him in the fighting; but afterwards the soldiers abandoned him on account of the confusion and panic, and he, left alone, was pounced upon by the Syracusans.

30. One might with reason note the inconsistency of Fortune and the strange manner in which human events turn out contrary to expectation. For Agathoeles, who was outstanding in courage and who had had a large army fighting in his support, not only was defeated decisively by the barbarians at the Himeras River, but he even lost the strongest and largest part of his army 1; whereas the garrison troops left behind in Syracuse, with only a small part of those who had previously been defeated, not only got the better of the Carthaginian army that had besieged them, but even captured alive Hamilear, the most famous of their citizens. And what was most amazing, one hundred and twenty thousand footsoldiers and five thousand horsemen were defeated

¹ Cp. Book 19, 108-109.

¹ μονωθείς Sintenis : μόγις σωθείς.

πολεμίων, προσλαβόμενος απάτην καὶ τόπον, κατὰ κράτος ἥττησεν, ωστὰ αληθὸς εἶνοι τὸ λεγόμενον

ότι πολλά τὰ κενά τοῦ πολέμου.

2 Μετά δε την τροπήν οι μεν Καρχηδόνιοι άλλοι1 κατ' άλλους τόπους διαυπαρέντες μύγις είς την ύστεραίαν ήθροίσθησαν, οί δε Συρακόσιοι μετά πολλών λαφύρων επανελθώντες είς την πόλιν των 'Αμίλκαν παρέδουαν τοις βουλομένοις λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν ἀνεμιμινήσκοντο δέ και της τοῦ μάντεως φωνής, ως έφησεν αὐτών εἰς τὴν ύστεραίων είς Συρακούσσας δειπνήσειν, του διαμονίου 3 παραγαγόντος τάληθές. του δ' ούν 'Αμίλκαν οί των απολωλότων συγγενείς δεδεμένου αγαγώντες διά της πόλεως και δειναίς αικίαις κατ' αυτυθ χρησάμενοι μετά της έσχάτης υβρεως άνειλου. είθ' οί μέν της πύλεως πρυεστηκότες αποκήθαντες αθτού την κεφαλήν απέστειλαν τους κομιούντας είς την Λιβύην πρώς 'Αγαθοκλέα και περί τών γεγονότων εὐτυχημάτων ἀπαγγελούντας.

31. 'Π δε τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατιὰ μετὰ τὴν γενομένην συμφορὰν μαθοῦσα τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων μόγις ἀπηλλάγη τῶν φόβων. ἀναρχίας δ' οἴσης διέστησαν οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνων 2 οἱ μεν οὖν φυγάδες μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἑλλήνων Δεινοκράτην στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦς δευτερεύουσι μετὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν τιμῆ

την ήγεμονίαν ένεχείρισαν.

Καθ' ον δη χρόνον 'Ακραγαντίνοι θεωρούντες την εν Σικελία κατάστασιν εὐφυεστάτην ούσαν πρός επίθεσιν ήμφισβήτησαν της κατά την νησον ήγε-

in battle by a small number of the enemy who en- 309 B.C. listed deception and terrain on their side; so that the saying is true that many are the empty alarms of war.¹

After the rout the Carthaginians, scattered some here some there, were with difficulty gathered on the next day; and the Syracusans, returning to the city with much plunder, delivered Hamilear over to those who wished to take vengeance upon him. They recalled also the word of the soothsayer who had said that Hamilear would enter Syracuse and dine there on the next day, the divinity having presented the truth in disguise. The kinsmen of the slain, after leading Hamilear through the city in bonds and inflicting terrible tortures upon him, put him to death with the utmost indignities. Then the rulers of the city cut off his head and dispatched men to carry it into Libya to Agathoeles and report to him the successes that had been gained.

31. When the Carthaginian army after the disaster had taken place learned the cause of its misfortune, it was with difficulty relieved from its fears. There being no established commander, the barbarians separated from the Greeks. Then the exiles along with the other Greeks elected Deinocrates general, and the Carthaginians gave the command to those

who had been second in rank to Hamilcar.

About this time the Acragantines, seeing that the situation in Sicily was most favourable for an attempt, made a bid for the leadership of the whole island;

¹ Cp. Book 17, 86, 1; 20, 67, 4; Thucydides, 3, 30; Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1116 b 7; Cicero, Letters to Atticus, 5, 20, 3. In most of these passages the MSS, are divided between κενά (empty) and καινά (strange); and Tyrrell and Purser on the last passage suggest κοινά (common to all).

3 μονίας υπελάμβανον γάρ Καρχηδονίους μέν μόγις ανθέξειν τω πρός 'Αγαθοκλέα πολέμω, Δεινοκράτην δ' εὐκαταγώνιστον είναι συνηθροικότα φυγαδικήν στρατιάν, τους δ' εν ταις Συρακούσοαις θλιβομένους τῆ σιτοδεία μηδ' ἐγχειρήσειν ἀμφισβητεῖν τῶν πρωτείων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τὴν στρατείαν έαυτών ποιουμένων επ' έλευθερώσει των πόλεων άσμένως άπαντας ύπακούος σθαι διά τε το πρός τούς βαρβάρους ματος και διά την εμφυτον πάσιν ι επιθυμίαν τής αὐτονομίας. ούτοι μεν ούν ελόμενοι στρατηγόν Ξενόδικον και την άρμάζουσαν δόντες δύναμιν εξέπεμψαν επί τον πόλεμον ό δε παραχρήμα έπὶ τὴν Γέλαν δρμήσας καὶ διά τινων ίδιοξένων νυκτός είσαχθείς έκυρίευσε της πόλεως άμα 6 καὶ δυνάμεως άδρᾶς καὶ χρημάτων. ἐλευθερωθέντες ούν οι Γελώοι προθυμότατα παιδημεί συστρατεύοντες ήλευθέρουν τας πόλεις. διαβυηθείσης δε της των Ακραγαντίνων επιβολής κατά πάσαν τήν νησον ενέπεσεν όρμη ταις πόλεσι πρός την έλευθερίαν. και πρώτοι μέν 'Ενναίοι πεμφαντες την πόλιν τοις 'Ακραγαντίνοις παρέδωκαν' οί δί ταύτην έλευθερώσαντες παρήλθον έπὶ τὸν 'Ερβησσόν, φρουράς εν αὐτῶ παραφυλαττούσης την πύλιν. γενομένης δε μάχης Ισχυράς και των πυλιτικών συνεργησάντων συνέβη την φρουράν άλωναι καί πολλούς μεν πεσείν των βαρβάρων, είς πεντακοσίους δὲ θεμένους τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι σφας αὐτούς.

32. Περί ταῦτα δ' ὄντων τῶν ᾿Λκραγαντίνων τῶν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις καταλελειμμένων στρα-

for they believed that the Carthaginians would 300 n.c. searcely sustain the war against Agathoeles; that Deinocrates was easy to conquer since he had collected an army of exites; that the people of Syracuse, pinched by famine, would not even try to compete for the primacy; and, what was most important, that If they took the field to secure the independence of the cities, all would gladly answer the summons both through hatred for the barbarians and through the desire for self-government that is implanted in all men. They therefore elected Xenodicus has general, gave him an army suitable for the undertaking, and sent him forth to the war. He at once set out against Gela, was admitted at night by certain personal friends, and became master of the city together with its strong army and its wealth. The people of Gela, having been thus freed, joined in his campaign very eagerly and unanimously, and set about freeing the cities. As news of the undertaking of the Aeragantines spread throughout the whole island, an impulse toward liberty made itself manifest in the cities. And first the people of Isnna sent to the Acragantines and delivered their city over to them; and when they had freed Enna, the Acragantines went on to Erbessus, although a garrison stationed there was keeping watch over the city. After a bitter battle had taken place in which the citizens aided the Acragantines, the garrison was captured and, although many of the barbarians fell, at least five hundred of them laid down their arms and surrendered.

39. While the Acragantines were thus engaged, some of the soldiers who had been left in Syracuse by

⁴ Called Xenodocus in chaps, 56, 2; 62, 2.

τιωτων υπ' 'Αγαθοκλέους καταλαβόμενοί τινες την 'Εχέτλαν επόρθουν τήν τε Λεοντίνην και Καμαριναίαν. κακώς οῦν πασχουσών των πόλεων δια τό
την χώραν δηοῦσθαι και τοῦς καρποὺς ἄπαντας
διαφθείρεσθαι εμβαλών εἰς τοὺς τόπους ὁ Ξενόδικος
Λεοντίνους μὲν και Καμαριναίους ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ
πολέμου, την δ' Ἰιχέτλαν χωρίον ἀχυρὸν ἐκπο-
λιορκήσας τοῖς μὲν πολίταις την δημοκρατίαν
ἀποκατέστησε, τοὺς δὲ Συρακοσίους κατεπλήξατο
καθόλου δ' ἐπιπορευόμενος τά τε φρούρια και τὰς
πόλεις ηλευθέρου τῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιστασίας.

Τημα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Συρακόσιοι πιεζούμενοι τῆ σιτοδεία καὶ πυνθανόμενοι σιτηγὰ πλαθα μέλλοντα ποιεῖσθαι πλοῦν ἐπὶ Συρακούσσας ἐπλήρουν τριήρεις εἴκοσι, τηρήσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἔφορμεῖν εἰωθότας βαρβάρους ἀφυλάκτους ὅντας ἔλαθον ἐκπλεύσαντες καὶ παρακομισθέντες εἰς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς ἐπετήρουν τὰν τῶν ἐμπόρων κατάπλουν. μετὶ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Καρχηδονίων τριάκοντα ναυοὶν ἐκπλευσάντων ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλοντο ναυμαχεῖν, ταχὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐκδιωχθέντες δ ἐξεκολύμβησαν πρός τινα ναὸν "Πρας. γενομένης οῦν μάχης περὶ τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιβαλλόντων σιδηρᾶς χεῖρας καὶ βιαιότερον ἀποσπώντων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς δέκα μὲν τριήρεις ἑάλωσαν,

διέσωσαν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ήν.

33. Περὶ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην 'Αγαθοκλῆς, ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσαν οἱ τὴν 'Αμίλκα κεφαλὴν κομίζοντες, ἀναλαβιὸν ταύτην καὶ παριππεύσας πλησίον τῆς

τας δ' άλλας έκ της πόλεως επιβοηθήσαντές τινες

This town is not definitely identified. Polybins, 1, 15, 10, 226

Agathocles, after seizing Echetla, plundered Leon- soo s.c. tini and Camarina. Since the cities were suffering from the plundering of their fields and the destruction of all their crops, Xemodicus entered the region and freed the peoples of Leontini and Camarina from the war; and after taking Echetla, a walled town, by siege, he re-established democracy for its citizens and struck fear into the Syracusans; and, in general, as he advanced he liberated the strongholds and the cities from Carthaginian domination.

Meantime the Syracusans, hard pressed by famine and hearing that grain ships were about to make the voyage to Syracuse, manned twenty triremes and, watching the barbarians who were accustomed to lie at anchor off the harbour to catch them off guard, sailed out unseen and coasted along to Megara, where they waited for the approach of the traders. Afterwards, however, when the Carthaginians sailed out against them with thirty ships, they first tried to fight at sea, but were quickly driven to land and leapt from their ships at a certain shrine of Hera. Then a battle took place for the ships; and the Carthaginians, throwing grappling irons into the triremes and with great force dragging them off from the shore, captured ten 2 of them, but the others were saved by men who came to the rescue from the city.

And this was the condition of affairs in Sicily.

33. In Libya, when those who were carrying the head of Hamilear had come into port, Agathocles took the head and, riding near the hostile camp to

mentions it as on the frontier between Syracusan and Carthaginian territory at the time of Hieron II.

παρεμβολής των πολεμίων είς φωνής άκοην έδειξε τοις πολεμίοις και την των στρατοπέδων ήτταν 2 διεσάφησεν. οι δέ Καρχηδόνιοι περιαλγείς γενόμενοι καὶ βαρβαρικώς προσκυνήσαντες συμφοράν έαυτων εποιούντο τον του βασιλέως θάνατον καί πρός του όλον πόλεμον άθυμοι καθειστήκεισαν. οί δὲ περί του 'Αγαθοκλέα τοῖς περί Λιβίην προτερήμασιν επαρθέντες τηλικούτων εύτυχημάτων προσγενομένων μετέωροι ταις έλπίσην εγενήθησαν, 3 ως απηλλαγμένοι των δεινών. οδ μην ή τύχη γε είασε την ευροιαν μένειν έπι της αυτης τάξεως, άλλ έκ των ίδιων στρατιωτών το δυνάστη τους μεγίστους επήνεγκε κινδύνους. Αυκίσκος γώρ τις των εφ' ήγεμονία τεταγμένων, παραληφθείς ύπ' 'Αγαθοκλέους επί το δείπνον, οἰνωθείς εβλασφήμει ι του δυνάστην. ό μεν ουν 'Αγαθακλής δια τας έν τῷ πολέμω χρείας ἀποδεχόμενος του ἄνδρα τῆ παιδιά τὰ πρός πικρίαν λεγόμενα διέσυρεν ὁ δ' υίος Αρχάγαθος χαλεπώς φέρων επετίμα τε καί 5 διηπειλείτο. διαλυθέντος δε του πότου και προς τήν ακηνήν ἀπιόντων ελοιδόρησεν ὁ Λυκίσκος τὸν Αρχάγαθον είς την της μητρυιάς μοιχείαν εδόκει γὰρ ἔχειν λάθρα τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ᾿Αλκίων τοῦτο ο γάρ ήν ονομα τη γυναικί. ο δ' 'Αρχάγαθος είς οργήν υπερβάλλουσαν προαχθείς και παρά τινος των ύπασπιστων άρπάσας σιβύνην διήλασε δια των πλευρών. τούτον μέν ούν παραχρήμα τελευτήσαντα πρός την ίδίαν απήνεγκαν σκηνην οίς ην επιμελές. αμα δ' ήμέρα συνελθόντες οι του φονευθέντος φίλοι και πολλοί τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτών συνδραμόντες ήγανώκτουν επί τοῖς πραχθείσι καὶ θορύβου τὴν 7 παρεμβολήν ἐπλήρωσαν. πολλοί δὲ καὶ τών ἐψ' 228

within hearing distance, showed it to the enemy and soone. related to them the defeat of their expedition. The Carthaginians, deeply grieved and prostrating themselves on the ground in barbarian fashion, regarded the death of the king as their own misfortune, and they fell into deep despair in regard to the whole war. But Agathocles, who was already elated by his successes in Libya, when such strokes of fortune were now added, was borne aloft by soaring hopes, thinking himself freed from all dangers. Fortune notwithstanding did not permit success to remain long on the same side but brought the greatest danger to the prince from his own soldiers. For Lyeiseus, one of those who had been placed in command, invited to dinner by Agathoeles, became drunk and insulted the prince. Now Agathocles, who valued the man for his services in the war, turned aside with a joke what had been said in bitterness; but his son, Archagathus,1 becoming angry, consured and threatened Lyciscus. When the drinking was concluded and the men were going away to their quarters, Lyciscus taunted Archagathus on the score of his adultery with his stepmother; for he was supposed to possess Alcia, for this was the woman's name, without his father's knowledge. Archagathus, driven into an overpowering rage, seized a spear from one of the guard and thrust Lyciscus through his ribs. Now he died at once and was carried away to his own tent by those whose task it was; but at daybreak the friends of the murdered man came together, and many of the other soldiers hastened to join them, and all were indignant at what had happened and filled the camp with uproar. Many, too, of those who

¹ For the form of this name ep. chap. 11. 1, and note.

ήγεμονίαις τεταγμένων, εν εγκλήμασιν όντες καὶ φοβούμενοι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, συνεπιθέμενοι τῷ καιρῷ στάσιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν εξέκαυσαν. παντὸς δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος μισοπονήροῦντος εκαστοι τὰς πανοπλίας ἀνελάμβανον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ φονεύσαντος τιμωρίαν καὶ πέρας τὸ πλῆθος ῷετο δεῖν ᾿Λρχάγα-θον ἀναιρεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐκδιδόντος δὲ τὰν υίὸν ᾿Αγα-θοκλέσυς αὐτὸν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑπέχειν. 8 ἀπήτουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς τοὺς ἐφειλομένους

καί στρατηγούς ήροῦντο τοὺς ἀφηγησομένους τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὸ τελευταίον τὰ τείχη κατελαμβάνοντό τινες τοῦ Τύνητος καὶ πανταχόθεν φυλα-

καις περιέλαβον τούς δυνάστας.

31. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι γνόντες τὴν παρά τοῖς πολεμίοις στάσιν επεμιμάν τινας άξιούντες μετα-Βάλλεσθαι και τούς τε μισθούς μείζους και δωρεάς άξιολόγους δώσειν ἐπηγγέλλοντο. πολλοί μέν οὖν των ήγεμόνων απάξειν πρός αύτους την στρατιάν 2 επηγγείλαντο· ό δ' Αγαθοκλής όρων την σωτηρίαν έπι ροπής κειμένην και φοβούμενος μή τοις πολεμίοις παραδοθείς μεθ' ύβρεως καταστρέψη τον βίου, ὑπέλαβε κρεῖττου είναι, κᾶν δέη τι πάσχειν, 3 ύπο τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. διόπερ ἀποθέμενος την πυρφύραν και μεταλαβών ιδιωτικήν και ταπεινήν έσθητα παρήλθεν είς το μέσον. σιωπής ούν γενομένης δια το παράδοξον και πολλών γενομένων των συνδραμόντων διεξήλθε λόγους οικείους της περιστάσεως καὶ τῶν προκατεργασθεισῶν αὐτῷ πράξεων αναμνήσας έφησεν έτοιμος είναι τελευταν εί τούτο δύξει συμφέρειν τοίς συστρατευομένοις. 4 οὐδέποτε γαρ αὐτον δειλία συνεσχημένον ὑπομεῖναί

had been placed in command, as they also were sub- 360 nc. ject to accusation and feared for themselves, turned the crisis to their own advantage and kindled no inconsiderable sedition. When the whole army was full of indignation, the troops severally donned full armour to punish the murderer; and finally the mob made up its mind that Archagathus should be put to death, and that, if Agathocles did not surrender his son, he himself should pay the penalty in his place. And they also kept demanding the pay that was due them, and they elected generals to lead the army; and finally some of them seized the walls of Tunis and surrounded the princes with guards on every side.

34. The Carthaginians, on learning of the discord among the enemy, sent men to them urging them to change sides, and promised to give them greater pay and noteworthy bonuscs. And indeed many of the leaders did agree to take the army over to them; but Agathoeles, seeing that his safety was in the balance and fearing that, if he should be delivered to the enemy, he would end his life amid insults, decided that it was better, if he had to suffer, to die at the hands of his own men. Therefore, putting aside the purple and donning the humble garb of a private citizen, he came out into the middle of the crowd. Silence fell because his action was unexpected, and when a crowd had run together, he delivered a speech suitable to the critical situation. After recalling his earlier achievements, he said that he was ready to die if that should seem best for his fellow soldiers; for never had he, constrained by

Most of Agathocles' soldiers were mercenaries, cp. chaps. 11, 1; 33, 8.

τι παθείν άτοπον ένεκα του φιλοψυχείν. και τούτου μάρτυρας εκείνους υπάρχειν αποφαινόμενος εγύμνωσε το ξίφος ώς σφάξων έαυτόν. μέλλουτος δ' επιφέρειν πληγήν ανεβόησε το στρατύπεδον διακιολύον και πανταχόθεν έγίνοντο φωναί των έγκλη-5 μάτων απολύουσαι. προστάττοντος δέ τοῦ πλήθους αναλαβείν την βασιλικήν εσθήτα δακρύων και τοίς όχλοις εὐχαριστῶν ἐνεδύετο τὸν προσήκοντα κόσμον, του πλήθους την αποκατάστασω κρότω παραμωθησαμένου. των δέ Καρχηδονίων καραδοκούντων ώς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς αὐτούς μεταθησυμένων, 'Αγαθοκλής ου παρείς του καιρου έξή-6 γαγεν έπ' αὐτούς την δύναμαν. οί μεν ούν βάρβαροι νομίζοντες τούς έναντίους αποχωρείν πρός αύτούς, ούδεμίαν των πρός άλήθειαν πεπραγμένων έννοιαν ελάμβανον ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής ώς επλησίασε τοις πολεμίοις, άφνω το πολεμικον προσέταξε σημιώνειν και προσπεσεύν πολύν εποίει φόνον. οι δε Καρχηδόνιοι παραδόξω συμπτώματι περιπεσόντες καί πολλούς τών στρατιωτών ἀποβαλόντες συνέφιγου 7 είς την παρεμβολήν. 'Αγαθοκλής μέν οὖν διὰ τὸν υίου είς τους έσχατους έλθων κινδύνους διά της ίδίας άρετης ου μόνον λύσιν εύρε των κακών, άλλα και τούς πολεμίους ηλάττωσεν οι δε της στάσεως μάλιστ' αίτιοι γενόμενοι και των άλλων δσοι πρός του δυνάστην άλλοτρίως διέκειντο, ύπερ τους διακοσίους όντες, ετόλμησαν πρός τους Καρχηδονίους αὐτομολησαι.

Ήμεις δε τὰ περὶ Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν διεληλυθότες μνησθησόμεθα καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλία πραχ-

θέντων.

cowardice, consented to endure any indignity through 300 B.C. love of life. And declaring that they themselves were witnesses of this, he bared his sword as if to slay himself. When he was on the point of striking the blow, the army shouted bidding him stop, and from every side came voices clearing him from the charges. And when the crowd kept pressing him to resume his royal garb, he put on the dress of his rank, weeping and thanking the people, the crowd meanwhile acclaiming his restoration with a clash of arms. While the Carthaginians were waiting intently, expecting that the Greeks would very soon come over to them. Agathocles, not missing the opportunity, led his army against them. The barbarians, believing that their opponents were descriing to them, had no idea at all of what had actually taken place; and when Agathoeles had drawn near the enemy, he suddenly ordered the signal for battle to be given, fell upon them, and created great havoc. The Carthaginians, stunned by the sudden reversal, lost many of their soldiers and fled into their camp. Thus Agathocles, after having fallen into the most extreme danger on account of his son, through his own excellence not only found a way out of his difficulties, but even defeated the enemy. Those, however, who were chiefly responsible for the sedition and any of the others who were hostile to the prince, more than two hundred in number, found the courage to desert to the Carthaginians.

Now that we have completed the account of events in Libya and in Sicily, we shall relate what took place

in Italy.

¹ Continued in chap. 38. 1.

¹ μεταθησομένων Dindorf: μετατεθησομένων RX, μεταβησομένων Γ.

35. Των γάρ Τυρρηνών στρατευσάντων έπὶ πόλιν Σούτριον ἄποικον 'Ρωμαίων οί μέν ὕπατοι δυνάμεσιν άδραις εκβοηθήσαντες ενύκησαν μάχη τους 2 Τυρρηνούς και συνεδίωξαν είς την παρεμβολήν, οί δέ Σαυνίται κατά τοθτον τον χρόνον μακράν άπηρτημένης της 'Ρωμαίων δυνάμεως άδεως επόρθουν των Ίαπύγων τους τὰ Τωμαίων φρονούντας. διόπερ ήναγκάσθησαν οἱ υπατοι διαιρείν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ Φάβιος μέν έν τῆ Τυρρηνία κατέμεινεν, Μάρκιος δε επί τους Σαυνίτας αναζεύξας 'Αλλάβας μέν πόλιν είλεν κατά κράτος, τούς δέ πολιορκουμένους των συμμάχων έκ των κινδύνων έρρύσατο. 3 ο δε Φάβιος Τυρρηνών πολλοίς πλήθεσιν επί το Σούτριον συνδραμόντων έλαθε τούς πολεμίους διά της των ομόρων χώρας ζαβαλών είς την ανωτέρω Τυρρηνίαν, απόρθητον γενομένην πολλών χρόνων ι επιπεσών δε άνελπίστως της τε χώρας πολλήν έδήωσε καὶ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας τῶν ἐγχωρίων νικήσας πολλούς μεν ανείλεν, ούκ όλίγους δε καί ζώντας ύποχειρίους έλαβεν. μετά δέ ταθτα περί την καλουμένην Περυσίαν δευτέρα μάχη των Τυρρηνών κρατήσας, πολλούς ανελών κατεπλήξατο τὸ εθνος, πρώτος 'Ρωμαίων μετά δυνάμεως έμβεβληκώς είς 5 τους τόπους τούτους. και πρός μεν 'Αρρητινούς καὶ Κροτωνιάτας, έτι δὲ Περυσίνους ανοχάς ἐποιήσατο πόλιν δε την δνομαζομένην Καστύλαν έκ-1 'OuBouxas Dindorf.

35. When the Etruscans 1 had taken the field 300 n.c. against the city Sutrium, a Roman colony, the consuls. coming out to its aid with a strong army, defeated them in battle and drove them into their camp; but the Samnites at this time, when the Roman army was far distant, were plundering with impunity those lapyges who supported the Romans. The consuls, therefore, were forced to divide their armies; Fabius remained in Etruria, but Marcius, setting out against the Samuites, took the city Allifae by storm and freed from danger those of the allies who were being be-Fabius, however, while the Etruscans in great numbers were gathering against Sutrium, marched without the knowledge of the enemy through the country of their neighbours into upper Etruria, which had not been plundered for a long time. Falling upon it unexpectedly, he ravaged a large part of the country; and in a victory over those of the inhabitants who came against him, he slew many of them and took no small number of them alive as prisoners. Thereafter, defeating the Etruscans in a second battle near the place called Perusia and destroying many of them, he overawed the nation since he was the first of the Romans to have invaded that region with an army. He also made truces with the peoples of Arretium and Crotona, likewise with those of Perusia; and, taking by siege the city called

³ Or, reading 'Oμβρικών: "through the country of the Umbrians."

⁴ Continued from chap, 26, 4. For this campaign ep. Livy, 9, 35-40.

The Etruscan city, called Cortona by Livy, 9, 37, 12, and by Latin writers generally, but Κρότων by the Greeks except Polybius, 3, 82, 9, who has Κυρτώνιου.

² έμβαλών Dindorf: συνεμβαλών.

πολιορκήσας συνηνάγκασε τους Γυρρηνούς λύσαι

την του Σουτρίου πολιορκίαν.

36. Έν δε τη Ρώμη κατά τούτον τον ενιαυτόν τιμητάς είλυντο και τούτων ο έτερος "Αππιος Κλαύδιος υπήκουν έχων του συνάρχουτα Λεύκιου Πλαύτιου πολλά των πατρώων νομίμων διείνησε. τω δήμω γάρ το κεχαρισμένον ποιών οδόδετα λόγον έποιείτο τής συγκλήτου. καὶ πρώτον μέν τὸ καλούμενον "Αππιον ύδωρ από σταδίων ογδοήκοντα κατήγαγεν είς την Ρώμην και πολλά τών δημοσίων γρημάτων είς ταύτην την κατασκευήν άνηλωσεν 2 άνευ δόγματος της συγκλήτου μετά δε ταθτα της άφ' έμυτοῦ κληθείσης 'Αππίας όδοῦ τὸ πλείου μέρος λίθοις στερεούς κατέστρωσεν από Τώμης μέχρι Καπίης, όντος του διαστήματος σταδίων πλειόνων η γιλίων, και των τόπων τούς μεν ύπερέγοντας διασκάψας, τους δε φαραγγάδεις ή κοίλους άναλήμμασιν άξιολόγοις έξισώσας κατηνάλωσεν άπάσας τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους, αύτοῦ δέ μισμεζον αθάνατον κατέλιπεν, είς κοινήν εύχρηστίαν φιλο-3 τιμηθείς. κατέμιξε δέ και την σύγκλητον, ου τους εθγενείς και πρυέχοντας τοις άξιώμασι προυγράφων μόνον, ώς ήν έθος, αλλά πολλούς και τών απελευθέρων υίους ανέμιξεν εψ' οίς βαρέως έφερον οί 4 καυχώμενοι ταις εύγενείαις. έδωκε δε τοις πολίταις και την εξουσίαν εν όποια τις βούλεται φυλή

1 Hlauriov Rhodoman : Klaustor.

¹ vioùs Oudendurp: ἐνίους, πολλούς ζτών δυσγενών> καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐνίους Wesseling. Relske would add τῶν πολλών οτ τοῦ πλήθους.

Castola, he forced the Etruscans to raise the siege 200 p.c. of Sutrium.

36. In Rome in this year censors were elected,2 and one of them Appius Claudius, who had his colleague, Lucius Plautius, under his influence, changed many of the laws of the fathers; for since he was following a course of action pleasing to the people, he considered the Senate of no importance. In the first place he built the Appian Aqueduct, as it is called, from a distance of eighty stades 3 to Rome, and spent a large sum of public money for this construction without a decree of the Senate. Next he paved with solid stone the greater part of the Appian Way, which was named for him, from Rome to Capua, the distance being more than a thousand stades.4 And since he dug through elevated places and levelled with noteworthy fills the ravines and valleys, he expended the entire revenue of the state but left behind a deathless monument to himself, having been ambitious in the public interest. He also mixed the Senate, enrolling not merely those who were of noble birth and superior rank as was the custom, but also including many sons of freedmen. For this reason those were incensed with him who boasted of their nobility. He also gave each citizen the right to be enrolled in whatever tribe

¹ Castola is unknown. Facsulae, Carsula, and Clusium

have been suggested in its place.

3 About 9 miles.

About 145 miles.

Livy, 9, 29, 5, places the beginning of this censorship in the consulship of M. Valerius and P. Decius, i.e. 311 a.c. according to Diodorus, 312 a.c. according to the conventional Roman system; and in 9, 33-34 he has Appius retain the office contrary to law into the present year, 309 or 310 a.c.

b Or, adding ποῦ πλήθους after πολλούς: "adding many of the plebeians and sons of freedmen." Cp. Livy, 9, 16, 10-11.

τάττεσθαι καὶ ὅποι προαιροῖτο τιμήσασθαι. το δ' όλον, ύρων τεθησαυρισμένον κατ' αὐτοῦ παρά τοις επιφανεστάτοις τον φθόνου, εξέκλινε το προσκόπτειν τισί των άλλων πολιτών, άντίταγμα κατασκευάζων τη των εθγενών άλλοτριότητι την παρά 5 των πολλών εύνοιαν, καί κατά μέν την των ίππέων δοκιμασίαν ούδενος άφείλετο τον ίππον, κατά δε την των συνέδρων καταγραφήν υδδένα των αδοξούντων συγκλητικών εξέβαλεν, όπερ ήν έθος ποιείν τοις τιμηταίς. είθ' οι μεν υπατοι διά τον φθόνον και δια το βούλεσθαι τοις επιφανιστάτοις χαρίζεσθαι συνήγον την σύγκλητυν ού τήν ύπο τούτου καταλεγείσαν, άλλα την ύπο των προη γεγενημένων τιμητών καταγραφείσαν ά δε δήμος τούτοις μεν αντιπράττων τῷ δε 'Αππίω συμφιλοτιμούμενος και την τών συγγενών προαγωγήν βεβαιώσαι βουλόμενος άγορανόμον είλετο της έπιφανεστέρας άγορανομίας υίον απελευθέρου Γυαίου Φλώνιον, δς πρώτος 'Ρωμαίων έτυχε ταύτης της άρχης πατρύς ών δεδουλευκότυς. ό δ' "Αππιυς της άρχης ἀπολυθείς και του ἀπό της συγκλήτου φθόνον εὐλαβηθείς προσεποιήθη τυφλός είναι καί κατ' οἰκίαν ἔμενεν.

37. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' ᾿Λθήνησι Χαρίνου 'Γ'ωμαΐοι μὲν τὴν ϋπατον ἀρχὴν παρέδοσαν Ποπλίφ

¹ έδωκε δέ . . . τιμήσασθαι Είννηντ, έδωκε δέ και τοῖς πολίτοις τὴν έξουσίαν όπου προαιραίντο τιμήσιαθαι Diudorf: εδωκε δί τοῖς πολίταις εξουσίαν ἐν όποἰα τις βούλεται ψυλή τάττεσθαι καί

he wished, and to be placed in the census class he soo n.c. preferred.1 In short, seeing hatred toward himself treasured up by the most distinguished men, he avoided giving offence to any of the other citizens, securing as a counterpoise against the hostility of the nobles the goodwill of the many. At the inspection of the equestrian order he deprived no man of his horse, and in drawing up the album of the Senate he removed no one of the unworthy Senators, which it was the custom of the censors to do. Then the consuls, because of their hatred for him and their desire to please the most distinguished men, called together the Senate, not as it had been listed by him but as it had been entered in the album by the preceding censors; and the people in opposition to the nobles and in support of Appins, wishing also to establish firmly the promotion of their own class, elected to the more distinguished of the aedileships the son of a freedman, Gnaeus Flavius, who was the first Roman whose father had been a slave to gain that office.2 When Appius had completed his term of office, as a precaution against the ill will of the Senate, he professed to be blind and remained in his house.^a

37. When Charinus was archon at Athens, the 305 to Romans gave the consulship to Publius Decius and

³ Continued in chap. 44, 8.

¹ Cp. Livy, 9, 46, 10-11. Dindorf, followed by Mommsen (Römische Forschungen, 1, 307), omits "to be enrolled in whatever tribe he wished, and."

For the aedileship of Flavius ep. Livy, 9, 46, where it is placed five years later.

την εξουσίαν όποι προαιροῖτο τιμήσασθαι RX; εδωκε δε και τοῖς πολίταις εξουσίαν όποι προαιροῖντο τιμήσασθαι και εν όποία τις βυύλεται φυλή τάττεσθαι Β.

Δεκίω καὶ Κοίντω Φαβίω, παρά δὲ τοῖς ἸΙλείοις όλυμπιας ήχθη ογδόη πρός ταις έκατον δέκα, καθ' ήν ενίκα στάδιον 'Απολλωνίδης Τεγεάτης. κατά δέ τούτους τούς χρόνους Πτύλεμαΐος μέν έκ της Μύνδου πλεύσας άδρω στόλω δια νήσων εν παράπλω την "Ανδρον ήλευθέρωσε καὶ την φρουράν εξήγαγε. κομισθείς δ' επί τον Ισθμόν Σικυώνα και Κόρινθον παρέλαβεν παρά Κρατησιπόλεως. τὰς δε αίτίας δι' ας εκυρίευσε πύλεων επιφανών προδεδηλωκότες εν ταις πρό ταύτης βίβλοις το διλυ-2 γείν ύπερ των αὐτών παρήσομεν. ἐπεβάλετο μέν ούν και τάς άλλας Ελληνίδας πόλεις Πτολεμαίος έλευθερούν, μεγάλην προσθήκην ήγούμενως έσεσθαι τοις ίδίοις πράγμασι την των Ελλήνων εύνουαν. έπει δε οί Πελοπονιήσιοι συνταξάμενοι χαρηγήσειν σίτον και χρήματα των ώμολογημένων οδδέν συνετέλουν, άγανακτήσας ὁ δυνάστης πρός μέν Κάσανδρον ειρήνην εποιήσατο, καθ' ήν έκατέρους έδει κυριεύειν τίον πόλειον ίδυ είχου, την δε Σικυώνα και Κόρινθον ασφαλισάμενος φρουρά διήρεν είς την Αίνυπτου.

Αμα δε τούτοις πραττομένοις Κλεοπάτρα τω μεν 'Αντιγόνω προσκόπτουσα, τῷ δ' αἰρέσει πρὰς τὸν Ητολεμαΐον ἀποκλίνουσα προῆγεν εκ Σάρδεων, ώς διακομισθησομένη πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἢν δε ἀδελφὴ μεν 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πέρσας καταπολεμήσαντως, θυγάτηρ δε Φιλίππου τοῦ 'Αμύντου, γυνὴ δε γεγενημένη τοῦ εἰς 'Ιταλίαν στρατεύσαντος 'Αλεξ-

¹ Charinus was archon in 308/7 n.c. In the Fasti the year 809 s.c. is a "dictator year" with L. Papirius Cursor as dictator and C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus as his master of-horse. No consuls are given. For these dictator years, 2.40

Quintus Fabius 1; and in Elis the Olympian Games 308 B.C. were celebrated for the one hundred and eighteenth time, at which celebration Apollonides of Tegea won the foot race. At this time, while Ptolemy was sailing from Myndus with a strong fleet through the islands, he liberated Andros as he passed by and drove out the garrison. Moving on to the Isthmus, he took Sievon and Corinth from Cratesipolis. Since the causes that explain her becoming ruler of famous cities were made clear in the preceding Book," we shall refrain from again discussing the same subject. Now Ptolemy planned to free the other Greek cities also, thinking that the goodwill of the Greeks would be a great gain for him in his own undertakings; but when the Peloponnesians, having agreed to contribute food and money, contributed nothing of what had been promised, the prince in anger made peace with Cassander, by the terms of which peace each prince was to remain master of the cities that he was holding; and after securing Sicyon and Corinth with a garrison, Ptolemy departed for Egypt.

Meanwhile Cleopatra quarrelled with Antigonus and, inclining to cast her lot with Ptolemy, she started from Sardis in order to cross over to him. She was the sister of Alexander the conqueror of Persia and daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas, and had been the wife of the Alexander who made an expedition

probably invented to accommodate two systems of chronology, ep. Introduction to Vol. IX and H. Stuart Jones in Cambridge Ancient History, 7, 321. This fictitious year is omitted by both Livy and Diodorus, and from this point on the Varronian chronology and that of Diodorus agree. The consuls for 308 s.c. are given in the Fasti as P. Decius Mus for the second time and Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus for the third, ep. Livy, 9, 40, 41.

² Continued from chap. 27, 3, ³ Cp. Book 19, 67, 1.

4 άνδρου. διά την επιφάνειαν οδυ του γένους οί περί Κάσανδρον και Λυσίμαχον, έτι δε 'Αντίγονον καὶ Πτολεμαΐον καὶ καθόλου πάντες οἱ μετά τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου τελευτήν αξιολογώτατοι των ήγεμόνων ταύτην εμνήστευον εκαστυς γάρ τούτω τω γάμω συνακολουθήσειν Μακεδόνας έλπίζων άντείχετο της βασιλικής οἰκίας, ώς την τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν 5 περιστήσων els έαυτόν. δ δε επιμελητής των Σάρδεων έχων παράγγελμα παρ' 'Αντιγόνου τηρεῖι τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, διεκώλυεν αυτής την έξοδον υστεμον δέ προστάξαντος τοῦ δυνάστου διά τινων γυναικών ε εδολοφόνησεν. ὁ δ' 'Αντίγονος οὐ βουλόμενος λέγεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ περί της ἀναιρέσεως, τῶν γυναικών τινας εκύλασεν ώς επιβεβουλευκυίας καί τά περί την έκφοράν βασιλικώς εφιλοκάλησεν. Κλεοπάτρα μέν ούν περιμάχητος γενομένη παρά τοις επιφανεστάτοις ήγεμόσι πρό του συντελεσθήναι

μέρη της οἰκουμένης.

38. Κατά γάρ την Λιβύην Καρχηδονίων ἐκπεμψάντων δύναμιν την προσαξομένην τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας Νομάδας ᾿Αγαθοκλης ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Τύνητος
ἀπέλιπεν ᾿Αρχάγαθον τὸν υίὸν μετὰ μέρους της
στρατιᾶς, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀναλαβῶν τοὺς κρατίστους,
πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὀκτακοσίους,
ζεύγη δὲ Λιβύων πεντήκοντα, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπη2 κολούθει τοῦς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι παρα-

^{*} προσαξομένην Dindorf: προσδεζομένην.

For the marriage of Cleopatra and Alexander, at which 242

into Italy.1 Because of the distinction of her descent ses B.c. Cassander and Lysimachus, as well as Antigonus and Ptolemy and in general all the leaders who were most important after Alexander's death, sought her hand; for each of them, hoping that the Macedonians would follow the lead of this marriage, was seeking alliance with the royal house in order thus to gain supreme power for himself. The governor of Sardis, who had orders from Antigonus to watch Cleopatra, prevented her departure; but later, as commanded by the prince, he treacherously brought about her death through the agency of certain women. But Antigonus, not wishing the murder to be laid at his door, punished some of the women for having plotted against her, and took care that the funeral should be conducted in royal fashion. Thus Cleopatra, after having been the prize in a contest among the most eminent leaders, met this fate before her marriage was brought to pass.

Now that we have related the events of Asia and of Greece, we shall turn our narrative to the other

parts of the inhabited world.2

38. In Libya, when the Carthaginians had sent out an army to win over the Nomads who had deserted, Agathocles left his son Archagathus before Tunis with part of the army, but he himself, selecting the strongest men—eight thousand foot, eight hundred horse, and fifty Libyan chariots—followed after the enemy at full speed. When the Carthaginians had

Philip was murdered, cp. Book 16, 91-94. After the death of Alexander of Epirus in 326 B.c., Cleopatra married Leonnatus (Plutarch, Eumenes, 3, 5), and on his death in 322 B.c., she took as her third busband Perdiceas (Arrian, FGrH, 156, 9, 26), who died in 321 B.c.

Continued from chap, 34, 7.

γενηθέντες είς τους Νομάδας τους καλουμένους Ζούφωνας, πολλούς των έγχωρίων προσηγάγουτο καὶ τῶν ἀφεστηκότων ἐνίους εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν άποκατέστησαν συμμαχίων έπει δ' ήκουσων πλησίον είναι τους πολεμίους, κατεστρατοπέδευσαν έπί τινος γεωλόφου περιεχομένου ρείθροις βαθέσι καί 3 δυσπεράτοις. και πρός μεν τάς απροσδοκήτους έπιθέσεις τών έναντίων ταθτα προεβάλουτο, τών δε Νομάδων τους μάλιστ' εδθέτους προσέταξαν επακολουθείν τοις "Ελλησιν και παρενοχλούντας κωλύειν αύτων την είς τουμπροαθεί πορείαν, ών ποιησάντων το προσταχθέν Αγαθοκλής επί μέν τούτους απέστειλε τούς τε σφενδονήτας και τοξότας, αὐτός δέ μετά της άλλης δυνάμετος δημησεν έπί 4 την στρατοπεδείαν των πολεμίων, οι δε Καρχηδόνιοι την ζπίνοιαν αὐτοῦ κατανοήσαντες ζξήναγον την στρατιάν έκ της παρεμβυλής και παρατάξαντες ετοιμοι πρός μάχην καθειστήκεισαν. έπεὶ δ' είρουν τούς περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα διαβαίνοντας ήδη τον ποταμόν, συντεταγμένοι ένέβαλον και περί τὸ ρείθρον δυσπέρατον ύπάρχον πολλούς τῶν ἐνιντίων 5 ανήρουν. προσβιαζυμένων δέ των μετ' 'Ayalloκλέους οι μεν Ελληνες ταις άρεταις ύπερείχου, οί δε βάρβαροι τοις πλήθεσι περιεγίνοιτο. ενθα δή των στρατοπέδων επί πολύν χρόνον φιλοτίμως άγωνιζομένων οί παρ' άμφοτέροις Νομάδις της μέν μάχης άφειστήκεισαν, επετήρουν δε το τέλος του κινδύνου, διεγνωκότες των ήττημένων τάς ο άποσκευας διαρπάσαι. 'Αγαθοκλής δε τους άρίστους έχων περί αύτον πρώτος έβυίσατο τούς άνθεστηκότας καὶ τῆ τούτων τροπή τοὺς λοιποὺς Βαρβάρους φυγείν εποίησεν μόνοι δε των ίππίων 244

come to the tribe of Nomads called the Zuphones, 208 a.c. they won over many of the inhabitants and brought back some of the deserters to their former alliance, but on learning that the enemy were at hand, they camped on a certain hill, which was surrounded by streams that were deep and difficult to cross. These they used as protection against the unexpected attacks of their opponents, but they directed the fittest of the Normads to follow the Greeks closely and by barassing them to prevent them from advancing. When these did as they had been directed, Agathoeles sent against them his slingers and bowmen, but he himself with the rest of his army advanced against the camp of the enemy. The Carthaginians on discovering his intention led their army out from their camp, drew it up, and took their positions ready for battle. But when they saw that Agathoeles was already crossing the river, they attacked in formation. and at the stream, which was difficult to ford, they slew many of their opponents. However, as Agathocles pressed forward, the Greeks were superior in valour, but the barbarians had the advantage of numbers. Then when the armies had been fighting gallantly for some time, the Nomads on both sides withdrew from the battle and awaited the outcome of the struggle, intending to plunder the baggage train of those who were defeated. But Agathocles, who had his best men about him, first forced back those opposite to him, and by their rout he caused the rest of the barbarians to flee. Of the cavalry only

¹ άλλην inforc στρατοπεδείαν omitted by Dindorf.

οί συναγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις Ελληνες, ών Κλίνων ήγειτο, τους περί τον Αγαθοκλέα βαρείς έπικειμένους ύπέστησαν. αγωνισαμένων δ' αὐτῶν λαμπρώς οί πλείστοι μεν ανηρέθησαν μαχόμενοι γενναίως, οι δε περιλειφθέντες τύχη τινὶ διεσώθησαν.

39. 'Ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής άφεις το διώκειν τούτους ωρμησεν επί τους καταφυγώντας βαρβάρους είς την παρεμβολήν και προσβιαζύμενος τόποις προσάντεοι και δυσπροσίτοις ούχ ήττον έπασχεν ή διετίθει τους Καρχηδονίους. ου μήν έληγε της τόλμης, άλλά τη νίκη μετεωριζύμενος ενέκειτο, διαλαμβάνων κατά κράτος αίρήσειν την στρατο-2 πεδείαν. Εν τοσούτω δε το τέλος της μάχης καραδοκούντες οἱ Νομάδες ταις μεν τῶν Καρχηδονίων αποσκευαίς ούχ οδοί τε ήσαν επιθέσθαι διά το τάς δυνάμεις άμφοτέρας πλησίον της παρεμβυλής άγωνίζεσθαι, επί δε την των Ελλήνων στρατοπεδείαν ωρμησαν, είδότες του 'Αγαθοκλέα μακράν άπεσπασιμένον. Ερήμου δ' αὐτης ούσης τῶν δυναμένων αμύνασθαι ραδίως επιπεσόντες τους μεν αντιστάντας όλίγους όντας άπέκτειναν, αίχμαλώτων 3 πλήθους και της άλλης ωφελείας εκυρίευσαν. ά δή πυθόμενος ο 'Αγαθοκλής ήγε κατά τάχυς την δύναμιν και τινά μέν των άφηρπασμένων άνέσωσε. των δε πλείστων οι Νομάδες εκυρίευον και νυκτός 4 επιγενομένης μακράν έαυτούς έξετόπισαν, ό δέ δυνάστης στήσας τρόπαιον τὰ μεν λάφυρα διείλετο τοις στρατιώταις, όπως μηδείς άγανακτήση περί των απολωλότων, τους δ' αίχμαλώτους Ελληνας τούς συστρατευσαμένους τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις είς τι 5 φρούριον ἀπέθετο. ούτοι μεν ούν εὐλαβούμενοι 246

the Greeks who, led by Clinon, were assisting the state. Carthaginians withstood Agathoeles' heavy armed men as they advanced. Although they struggled brilliantly, most of these Greeks were slain while fighting gallantly, and those who survived were saved

by mere chance.

39. Agathoeles, giving up the pursuit of the cavalry, attacked the barbarians who had taken refuge in the camp; and, since he had to force his way over terrain steep and difficult of access, he suffered losses no less great than those he inflicted on the Carthaginians. Nevertheless, he did not slacken his zeal, but rather, made confident by his victory, pressed on, expecting to take the camp by storm. At this the Nomads who were awaiting the outcome of the battle, not being able to fall on the baggage train of the Carthaginians since both armies were fighting near the camp, made an attack on the encampment of the Greeks, knowing that Agathoeles had been drawn off to a great distance. Since the camp was without defenders capable of warding them off, they easily launched an attack, killing the few who resisted them and gaining possession of a large number of prisoners and of booty as well. On hearing this Agathoeles led his army back quickly and recovered some of the spoil, but most of it the Nomads kept in their possession, and as night came on they withdrew to a distance. The prince, after setting up a trophy, divided the booty among the soldiers so that no one might complain about his losses; but the captured Greeks, who had been fighting for the Carthaginians, he put into a certain fortress. Now these men, dreading punishment

³ εληγέ γε Reiske. ³ είς τι Wesseling: εἰς τὸ.
³ οὐτος Dindorf: αὐτοὶ,

την από τοῦ δυνάστου τιμωρίαν νυκτός ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίω καὶ τῆ μάχη κρατούμενοι κατελάβοντο τόπον ἐρυμνόν, ὅντες οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων, ὧν ήσαν Συρακόσιοι ἱτλείους τῶν πεντα-6 κοσίων ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς δὲ πυθόμενος τὸ πεπραγμένον ἡκε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ καταβιβάσας ὑπυσπόνδους τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους ἄπαντας ἀπέσφαξεν.

40. 'Από δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης γενόμενος καὶ πάντα τη διανοία σκοπούμενος πρός το λαβείν τούς Καρχηδονίους υποχειρίους εξέπερψε πρεσβευτήν "Ορθωνα του Συρακόσιον πρός 'Οφέλλαν είς Κυρήνην. ούτος δ' ήν μεν των φίλων των συνεστρατευμένων 'Αλεξάνδρω, κυριεύων δε τών περί Κυρήνην πόλεων καὶ δυνάμεως άδρας περιεβάλιτο 2 ταις έλπίαι μείζονα δυναστείαν, τοιαύτην ούν αὐτου διάνοιαν έχοντος ήκεν ό παρ' 'Αγαθοκλέους πρεσβευτής, άξιων συγκαταπολεμήσαι Καρχηδονίους άντι δε ταύτης της χρείας επηγγέλλετο τον Αγαθοκλέα συγχωρήσειν αυτώ τών εν Λιβύη 3 πραγμάτων κυριεύειν. είναι γάρ ικανήν αύτιο τήν Σικελίαν, ιν' έξη των από της Καρχηδόνος κινδύνων απαλλαχθέντα μετ' άδείας κρατείν απάσης της νήσου παρακείσθαι δέ και την Ίταλίαν αὐτώ πρός επαύξησιν της άρχης, εάν κρίνη μειζόνων ορέγεσθαι. 4 την μέν γάρ Λιβύην διεζευγμένην μεγάλω καί χαλεπώ πελάγει μηδαμώς άρμόζειν αὐτώ, εἰς ῆν καὶ νῦν οὐ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην 5 αφίχθαι. ὁ δὲ 'Οφέλλας τῆ πάλαι βεβουλευμένη

¹ In 300 n.c. Ophellas as general of Piolemy restored the oligarchy in Cyrenč, which had been threatened by the mercenary leader Thibron in the service of the democrats (Book 18.19-21). Hescems to have remained in Cyrenč as Ptolemy's 248

from the prince, attacked those in the fortress at 208 no.
night and, although defented in the battle, occupied
a strong position, being in number not less than a
thousand, of whom whove five hundred were Syracusans. However, when Agathoeles heard what had
happened, he came with his army, induced them to
leave their position under a trace, and slaughtered

all those who had made the attack.

40. After he had finished this battle, Agathoeles, examining in mind every device for bringing the Carthaginians into subjection, sent Orthon the Syracusan as an envoy into Cyrcne to Ophellas, The latter was one of the companions who had made the campaign with Alexander: now, master of the cities of Cyrene and of a strong army, he was ambitious for a greater realm. And so it was to a man in this state of mind that there came the envoy from Agathocles inviting him to join him in subdaing the Carthaginiaus.2 In return for this service Orthon promised Ophellas that Agathocles would permit him to exercise dominion over Libya. For, he said, Sicily was enough for Agathocles, if only it should be possible for him, relieved of danger from Carthage, to rule over all the island without fear. Moreover, Italy was close at his hand for increasing his realm if he should decide to reach after greater things. For Libya, separated by a wide and dangerous sea, did not suit him at all, into which land he had even now come through no desire but because of necessity. Ophellas, now that to his long-considered judgement

governor, although he is not mentioned in connection with the insurrection there put down by Ptolemy in 312 a.c. (Book 19, 79, 1-3).

2 According to Justin, 22, 7, 4, Ophellas rather than

Aguthocles first proposed the alliance.

κρίσει προστεθείσης της γενομένης έλπίδος άσμένως ύπήκουσε καὶ πρός μέν 'Αθηναίους περί ουμμαχίας διεπέμπετο, γεγαμηκώς Εδθυδίκην την Μιλτιάδου θυγατέρα τοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν φέροντος εἰς τὸν ιι στρατηγήσαντα των έν Μαραθώνι νικησάντων. διά δή ταύτην την επιγαμίαν και την άλλην σπουδήν, ην υπηρχεν αποδεδειγμένος είς την πόλιν, καί πολλοί των 'Λθηναίων προθύμως υπήκουσαν είς την οτρατείαν. ούκ ολίγοι δε και των άλλων Έλλήνων ζοπουδον κοινωνήσαι της επιβολής, ελπίζοντες τήν τε κρατίστην της Λιβύης κατακληρουχήσειν καὶ τὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι διαρπάσειν πλοῦτον. 7 τα μέν γαρ κατά την Ελλάδα διά τους συνεγείς πολέμους και τας των δυναστών πρός αλλήλους φιλοτιμίας ασθενή και ταπεινά καθειστήκει ωρθ' ύπελάμβανον μή μόνον έγκρατείς έσεσθαι πολλών άγαθών, άλλά και των παρόντων κακών άπαλλαγήσεσθαι.

41. 'Ο δ' οῦν 'Οφέλλας, ἐπειδὴ πάντ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν κατεσκεύαστο λαμπρῶς, ἐξώρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔχων πεζούς μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων, ἱππτῖς δὲ ἐξακοσίους, ἄρματα δὲ ἐκατόν, ἡνιόχους δὲ καὶ παραβάτας πλείους τῶν τριακοσίων. ἡκολούθουν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔξω τάξεως λεγομένων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων πολλοὶ δὲ τούτων τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἦγον, ὥστε ἐμφερῆ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπάρχειν ἀποικία. ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ὁδοιπορήσαντες καὶ διελθόντες σταδίους τρισχιλίους κατεσκήνωσαν περὶ Λύτό-

was added this actual hope, gladly consented and sent 208 m. to the Athenians an envoy to confer about an alliance, for Ophellas had married Euthydice, the daughter of a Miltiades who traced that name back to him who had commanded the victorious troops at Marathon. On account of this marriage and the other marks of favour which he had habitually displayed toward their city, a good many of the Athenians eagerly enlisted for the campaign. No small number also of the other Greeks were quick to join in the undertaking since they hoped to portion out for colonization the most fertile part of Libya and to plunder the wealth of Carthage. For conditions throughout Greece on account of the continuous wars and the mutual rivalries of the princes had become unstable and straitened, and they expected not only to gain many advantages, but also to rid themselves of their present evils.

11. And so Ophellas, when everything for his campaign had been prepared magnificently, set out with his army, having more than ten thousand foot-soldiers, six hundred horsemen, a hundred chariots, and more than three hundred charioteers and men to fight beside them. There followed also of those who are termed non-combatants not less than ten thousand; and many of these brought their children and wives and other possessions, so that the army was like a colonizing expedition. When they had marched for eighteen days and had traversed three thousand stades,2 they encamped at Automala 3; thence as

After Ophelias' death she returned to Athens and became a wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes (Platarch, Demetrius, 11, 1).

About 345 miles.

At the extreme western limit of Cyrene, at the most southern point of the Greater Syrlis (Strabo, 2, 5, 20).

μαλα! έντευθεν δι πυρευομένοις ύπηρχεν όρος έξ άμφοτέρων των μερών απόκρημνον, έν μέσω δ' έχον φάραγγα βαθείαν, έξ ής ανέτεινε λισσή πέτρα 3 πρός όρθον ανατείνουσα ακόπελον περί δέ την ρίζαν αύτης άντρον ήν εύμεγεθες, κιττώ και σμίλακι συπρεφές, εν ώ μυθεύουσι γεγονέναι βασίλισσαν Λάμιαν τῷ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν. διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς ψυχής αγριότητα διατυπώσαι? φασι την όψαν αύτης του μετά ταύτα χρόνον θηριώδη. τῶν γὰρ γινομένων αὐτή παίδων άπάντων τελευτώντων βαρυθυμούσαν επί το πάθει και φθονούσαν ταις των άλλων γυναικών εύτεκνίαις κελεύειν έκ τών άγκαλών εξαρπάζεσθαι τὰ βρέψη και παραχρήμα άπο-4 κτέννειν. διὸ καὶ καθ' ήμας μέχρι του νυν βίου παρά τοις νηπίοις διαμένειν την περί της γυναικός ταύτης φήμην και φοβερωτάτην αὐτοῖς είναι την δ ταύτης προσηγορίαν. ότε δε μεθύσκοιτο, την άδειαν διδόναι πασιν α βούλοιντο ποιείν απαρατηρήτως. μή πολυπραγμονούσης οὖν αὐτής κατ' έκεινον του χρόνον τα γινόμενα τους κατά την χώραν ὑπολαμβάνειν μη βλέπειν αὐτήν καὶ διά τουτ' έμυθολόγησαν τινες ώς είς προιχον εμβάλοι τούς δάθαλμούς, την έν οίνω συντελουμένην όλιγωρίαν είς το προειρημένου μέτρου μεταφέρουτες. ο ώς τούτου παρηρημένου την ορασιν. ότι δέ κατά

Λὐτόμαλα Wesseling: Αὐτομόλας.
 διατετυπῶοθαί Madvig, Fischer.
 τοὺς added by Wesseling.

The myth is also preserved in the scholla on Aristophanes, Peace, 758, and Wasps, 1085. In the latter place credit is 252

they advanced there was a mountain, precipitous on ans me. both sides but with a deep ravine in the centre, from which extended a smooth rock that rose up to a lofty peak. At the base-of this rock was a large cave thickly covered with ivy and bryony, in which according to myth had been born Lamia, a queen of surpassing beauty.1 But on account of the savagery of her heart they say that the time that has claused since has transformed her face to a bestial aspect. For when all the children born to her had died." weighed down in her misfortune and envying the happiness of all other women in their children, she ordered that the new-born babies be snatched from their mothers' arms and straightway slain. Wherefore among us even down to the present generation, the story of this woman remains among the children and her name is most terrifying to them.3 But whenever she drank freely, she gave to all the opportunity to do what they pleased unobserved. Therefore, since she did not trouble herself about what was taking place at such times, the people of the land assumed that she could not see. And for that reason some tell in the myth that she threw her eyes into a flask,4 metaphorically turning the carelessness that is most complete aunid wine into the aforesaid measure, since it was a measure of wine that took away her sight. One might also present Euripides given to Duris (FGrII, 76, F 17), whom Diodorus is probably following here.

2 This was because of the Jealous wrath of Hera, the father

of the children being Zeus.

³ Strabo, 1, 2, 8, lists this myth among those used to

frighten children. Cp. Horace, Art of Poetry, 340.

Flutareh, On Carinaity, 2 (p. 516), says that she took her eyes out of her head when she wished to rest at home and replaced them when she went abroad.

την Λιβύην γέγονεν αυτη και τον Ευριπίδην δείξαι τις αν μαρτυρούντα λέγει γάρ

τίς τουνομα το επονείδιστην βροτοις ούκ οίδε Λαμίας της Λιβυστικής γένος;

42. 'Ο δ' ούν 'Οφέλλας άναλαβών την δύναμιν προήγεν διά της ανύδρου και θηριώδους επιπόνως ού μόνον γάρ ύδατος έσπάνιζεν, άλλά και της ξηράς τροφής απολιπούσης εκινδύνευσεν απαν απ-2 ολέσαι το στρατόπεδου. δακέτων δε θηρίων παντοίων επεχόντων τα περί τας Σύρτεις έρημα καί των πλείστων ολέθριον εχόντων το δήγμα πυλλή τη συμφορά περιέπιπτον, άβοήθητον έχριτες την έκ των ιστρών και φίλων επικουρίαν. και γάρ · ένιοι των οφεων ομοίαν έχοντες την χρύαν τη κατ' αύτους ούση χώρα την ίδιαν φύσιν απροάρατον εποίουν· οίς πολλοί δια την άγνοιαν επιβαίνοντες δήγμασι θανατηφόροις περιέπιπτον, τέλος δέ κατά τήν όδοιπορίαν πλείον ή δύο μήνας κακοπαθήσαντες μόγις διήνυσαν πρός τους περί Αγαθοκλέα καί βραγύ διαγωρίσαντες απ' αλλήλων την δύναιμη κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

3 ΕΙθ' οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι πυθύμενοι τὴν τούτων παρουσίαν κατεπλάγησαν, ὁρῶντες τηλικαύτην δύναμιν κατ' αὐτῶν ἤκουσαν: ὁ δ' ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς ἀπαντήσας τοῖς περὶ τὸν ᾿Οφέλλαν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἄπαντα χορηγήσας τούτους μὲν ἤξίου τὴν ατρατιὰν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμείνας ἡμέρας ἀλίγας καὶ κατασκεψάμενος ἕκαστα τῶν πραττομένων ἐν τῆ παρεμβολῆ τῶν παρόντων,

 $^{^{1}}$ None of the attempts to heal this limping verse is convineing.

as a witness that she was born in Libya, for he says: 308 p.c. "Who does not know the name of Lamia, Libyan in race, a name of greatest repreach among mortals?"

12. Now Ophellas with his army was advancing with great difficulty through a waterless land filled with savage creatures; for not only did he lack water, but since dry food also gave out, he was in danger of losing his entire army. Fanged monsters of all kinds infest the desert near the Syrtis, and the bite of most of these is fatal; therefore it was a great disaster into which they were fallen since they were not helped by remedies supplied by physicians and friends. For some of the serpents, since they had a skin very like in appearance to the ground that was beneath them, made their own forms invisible; and many of the men, treading upon these in ignorance, received bites that were fatal. Finally, after suffering great hardships on the march for more than two months, they with difficulty completed the journey to Agathoeles and encamped, keeping the two forces a short distance apart.

The Carthaginians, on hearing of their presence, were panic stricken, seeing that so great a force had arrived against them; but Agathoeles, going to meet Ophellus and generously furnishing all needed supplies, begged him to relieve his army from its distress.³ He himself remained for some days and carefully observed all that was being done in the camp of the

¹ The play from which this fragment comes is not known. Cp. Nauck, Trag. Gr. Frag., Euripides, 922.

According to Justin, 23, 7, 5, Agathoeles went so far in showing his friendship as to have Ophelias adopt one of his sons.

^{3 8&#}x27; our Dindorf : your It, y' our XF.

έπει το πλείον μέρος των στρατιωτών έπι χορτάσματα καὶ σιτολογίαν έξεληλύθει, τον δὲ 'Οφέλλαν έώρα μηδέν των ύφ' έαυτοῦ βεβουλευμένων ύπονοούντα, συνήγαγεν εκκλησίαν των ίδίων στρατιωτών, κατηγορήσας δέ τοῦ παρόντος έπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν όις επιβουλεύοντος και παροξύνας το πλήθος εύθυς διεακευμαμένην την δύναμμη ήμεν 1 επί τους Κυρηναίους. είθ' ό μεν 'Οφέλλας διά το παράδοξον καταπλαγείς επεχείρησε μεν αμύνασθαι, καταταχούμενος δέ και την υπολελεμμένην δύναμιν ούκ έχων άξιοχρεων μαχόμενος ετελεύτησεν. 5 ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής συναναγκάσας το λοιπον πλήθος αποθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ φιλανθρώποις ἐπαγγελίαις παραστησάμενος απαντας κύριος έγένετο της δυνάμεως πάσης. 'Οφέλλας μεν ούν έλπίσης μεγάλη καὶ προχειρότερου αὐτὸν πιστεύσας τοιαύτης ἔτυχε της του βίου καταστροφής.

13. Έν δὲ τῆ Καρχηδόνι Βορμίλκας πάλαι διανενοημένος ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι καιρὸν ἐπεζήτει
ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς οἰκεῖον. πολλάκις δὲ διδόντος
τοῦ καιροῦ τὰς ἀψορμὰς τοῦ πράττειν τὸ βεβουλευμένον ἀεί τις αἰτία μικρὰ παρεμπίπτουσα διεκώλυεν δεισιδαίμονες γὰρ οἱ μέλλοντες ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς
παρανόμοις καὶ μεγάλαις πράξεσι καὶ τὸ μέλλειν
ἀεὶ τοῦ πράττειν καὶ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τῆς συντελείας
προκρίνουσιν. ῷ καὶ τότε συνέβαινεν καὶ περὶ

¹ anobiolas Dindorf : anoboobatas.

¹ The whole account, with its emphasis on the treachery 256

BOOK XX, 42, 3-43, 1

new arrivals. When the larger part of the soldiers are achad scattered to find fodder and food, and when he saw that Ophellas had no suspicion of what he himself had planned, he summoned an assembly of his own soldiers and, after accusing the man who had come to join the alliance as if he were plotting against himself and thus rousing the anger of his men, straightway led his army in full array against the Cyreneans. Then Ophellas, stunned by this unexpected action, attempted to defend himself; but, pressed for time, the forces that he had remaining in camp not being adequate, he died fighting. Agathocles forced the rest of the army to lay down its arms, and by winning them all over with generous promises, he became master of the whole army. Thus Ophellas, who had cherished great hopes and had rashly entrusted himself to another, met an end so inglorious.

is. In Carthage Bormilear, who had long planned to make an attempt at tyranny, was seeking a proper oceasion for his private schemes. Time and again when circumstances put him in a position to carry out what he had planned, some little cause intervened to thwart him.² For those who are about to undertake lawless and important enterprises are superstitious and always choose delay rather than action, and postponement rather than accomplishment. This happened also on this occasion and in regard to this man;

of Agathocles, is probably drawn from Duris, as a part of

it quite certainly is (ep. note on chap. 41, 3).

² For chaps, 43-44 cp. Justin, 22, 7, 6-14, who says that Bormhear, after Agathorles had inflicted severe losses on the Carthaginians, wished to go over to Agathocles with his army, was prevented by a sedition in the Sicilian camp, and was put to death by his fellow cilizens.

2 έκείνου εξέπεμψε μέν γάρ τους επιφανεστάτους των πολιτών είς την έπί τους Νομάδας στρατιίαν, ΐνα μηδένα τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἔχη τὸν ἀντιστησόμενον, ούκ ετόλμα δε αποκαλύψασθω πρός την τυραννίδα, 3 μετακαλούμενος ύπο της εθλαβείας, καθ' ών δέ καιρον 'Αγαθοκλης επέθετο τοις περί τον 'Οφέλλαν, ορμήσαι και τούτον συνέβη πρός την δυναστείαν, άγνουύντων άμφοτέρων τὰ παρά τοις πυλεμίοις 4 πραττόμενα. ούτε γάρ 'Αγαθοκλής έγνω την επίθεσιν της τυραννίδυς και την έν τη πόλει ταραχήν, έπει ραδίως αν εκράτησε της Καρχηδύνυς είλετο γαρ αν Βορμίλκας επ' αὐτοφώρω γενόμενος συνεργείν 'Αγαθοκλεί μάλλον ή τοίς πολίταις δούναι την έκ τοῦ σώματος τιμωρίαν οῦτς πάλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι την επίθεσιν την 'Αγαθοκλέους επύθοντο. ραδίως γαρ αν αύτον έχειρώσαντο προσλαβύμενοι 5 την μετ' 'Οφέλλα δύναμιν. άλλ', οίμαι, παρ' άμφοτέροις οὐκ άλογίστως συνέβη γενέυθαι ταύτην την άγνοιαν, καίπερ μεγάλων μέν οὐσίον τών πράξεων, έγγυς δ' άλλήλων των επικεχειρηκότων α τοις τηλικούτοις τολμήμασιν ο τε γάρ 'Αγαθοκλής ανδρα φίλον μέλλων άναιρείν προς ούδεν επέβαλλε την διάνοιαν των παρά τοις πολεμίοις συντελουμένων, ο τε Βορμίλκας την της πατρίδος έλευθερίαν άφαιρούμενος ούδεν όλως επολυπραγμόνει των παρά τοις άντιστρατοπεδεύουσιν, ώς αν έχων πρυκείμενον έν τη ψυχή το μη τούς πολεμίους έπι του παρόντος, άλλα τους πολίτας καταπολεμήσαι. 7 Ταύτη δ' αν τις καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν καταμέμψαιτο,

Ταυτή δ αν τις και την ιστορίαν καταμέμψαιτο, θεωρών επί μεν τοῦ βίου πολλάς και διαφόρους πράξεις συντελουμένας κατά τον αὐτον καιρόν, τοῦς δ ἀναγράφουσιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχον το μεσολαβεῖν

for he sent out the most distinguished of the citizens we not to the campaign against the Nomads so that he might have no man of consequence to oppose him, but he did not venture to make an open bid for the tyranny, being held back by caution. But it happened that at the time when Agathoeles attacked Ophellas, Bormilear made his effort to gain the tyranny, each of the two being ignorant of what the enemy was Agathoeles did not know of the attempt at tyranny and of the confusion in the city when he might easily have become master of Carthage, for when Bormilear was discovered in the act he would have preferred to co-operate with Agathoeles rather than pay the penalty in his own person to the citizens. And again, the Carthaginians had not heard of Agathocles' attack, for they might easily have overpowered him with the aid of the army of Ophellas. But I suppose that not without reason did such ignorance prevail on both sides, although the actions were on a large scale and those who had undertaken deeds of such daring were near each other. For Agathoeles. when about to kill a man who was his friend, paid attention to nothing that was happening among his enemics; and Bormilear, when depriving his fatherland of its liberty, did not concern himself at all with events in the camp of the enemy, since he had as a fixed purpose in his mind to conquer at the time, not his enemies, but his fellow citizens.

At this point one might censure the art of history, when he observes that in life many different actions are consummated at the same time, but that it is necessary for those who record them to interrupt the

^{1 76} p added by Geer.

την διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς αμα συντελουμένοις μερίζειν τοὺς χρόνους παρὰ φύσιν, ὧστε την μὲν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὸ πάθος ἔχειν, την δ' ἀναγραφην ἐστερημένην τῆς ὁμοίας ἐξουσίας μιμεῖσθαι μὲν τὰ γεγενημένα, πολὺ δὲ λείπεσθαι τῆς ἀληθοῦς διαθέσεως.

44. 'Ο δ' οδν Βορμίλκας έξετασμών τών στρατιωτών ποιησάμενος εν τη καλουμένη Νέα πόλει, μικρου έξω της άρχαίας Καρχηδόνος ούση, τούς μέν άλλους διαφήκε, τούς δέ συνειδότας περί της έπιθέσεως, όντας πολίτας μέν πεντακοπίους, μιαθοφόρους δε περί χιλίους αναλαβών, ανέδειξεν έαν-2 τον τύρανον. είς πέντε δε μέρη τους στρατιώτας διελόμενος επήει πάντας τους εν ταις όδεις απαντώντας ἀποσφάττων. γενομένης δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ταραχής έξαισίου το μέν πρώτον οί Καρχηδύνιοι τούς πολεμίους υπέλαβου παρεισπεπτωκέναι προδιδυμένης της πόλεως ώς δ' επεγνώσθη τάληθές, συνέτρεχον οι νέοι και είς τάξεις καταστάντες 3 ώρμησαν έπὶ τὸν τύραννον. ὁ δὲ Βορμίλκας τοὺς έν ταίς όδοις άναιρων δρμησεν είς την άγυραν καί πολλούς των πολιτών ανόπλους καταλαβών απ-4 έκτεινε. των δε Καρχηδονίων καταλαβομένων τάς περί την άγοραν οίκίας ύψηλάς ούσας καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι πυκνοίς χρωμένων οί μετέχοντες της έπιθέσεως κατετραυματίζοντο, του τόπου παιτός έμ-5 βελούς όντος. διόπερ κακοπιθούντες συνέφραξαν έαυτούς και διά των στενωπών συνεξέπεσαν είς την Νέαν πόλιν, βαλλόμενοι συνεχώς από των 260

narrative and to parcel out different times to simul-108 n.c. taneous events contrary to nature, with the result that, although the actual experience of the events contains the truth, yet the written record, deprived of such power, while presenting copies of the events, falls far short of arranging them as they really were.

14. Be that as it may, when Bornilear had reviewed the soldiers in what was called the New City, which is a short distance from Old Carthage, he dismissed the rest, but holding those who were his confederates in the plot, five hundred citizens and about a thousand mercenaries, he declared himself tyrant, Dividing his soldiers into five bands, he attacked, slaughtering those who opposed him in the streets. Since an extraordinary tuniult broke out everywhere in the city, the Carthaginians at first supposed that the enemy had made his way in and that the city was being betrayed; when, however, the true situation became known, the young men ran together, formed companies, and advanced against the tyrant. But Bormilear, killing those in the streets, moved swiftly into the market place; and finding there many of the citizens unarmed, he slaughtered them. Carthaginians, however, after occupying the buildings about the market place, which were tall, hurled missiles thick and fast, and the participants in the uprising began to be struck down since the whole place was within range. Therefore, since they were suffering severely, they closed ranks and forced their way out through the narrow streets into the New City, being continuously struck with missiles from

¹ dvaλαβών added by Rhodoman, who also suggests παρακαλεσάμενης, παρακελευνάμενης, and συναγαγών; παρακατασχών Reiske.

οἰκιῶν καθ' ᾶς τυγχάνοιεν αἰεὶ γινόμενοι. καταλαβομένων δ' αὐτῶν ὑπερδέξιόν τινα τόπον οἱ
Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων συνδραμόντων
ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς ἀφεστηβ κόσι. τέλος δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς εὐθέτους καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων δόντες
ἄφεσιν διελύθησαν καὶ τοῖς μὰν ἄλλοις οὐδὲν ἐμνησικάκησαν διὰ τοὺς περιεστῶτας τὴν πόλιν κινδήνους, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Βορμίλκαν αἰκισάμενοι δεινῶς
τοῦ ζῆν ἐστέρησαν, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες τῶν δεδομένων ὅρκων. Καρχηδόνιοι μεὶν οὖν κινδυνεύσαντες
τοῖς ὅλοις σφαλῆναι τοῦτοι τὸν τρόπον ἐκομίσαντο
τὴν πατριψαν πολιτείαν.

Αγαθοκλής δε πλοΐα φορτηγά γεμίσας τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τοὺς ἀχρήστους εἰς πόλεμου τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης παραγενομένων ἐμβιβάσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Συρακούσσας. χειμώνων δ' ἐπιγενομένων ἃ μεν διεφθάρη τῶν πλοίων, ἃ δ' ἐξέπεσε πρὸς τὰς κατ' Ἰταλίαν Πιθηκούσσας νήσους, ὀλίγα δ' cἰς τὰς

Συρακούσσας διεσώθη.

Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίων οἱ τῶν Ἰωμαίων ὅπατοι, Μαρσοῖς πολεμουμένοις ὑπό Σαμνιτῶν βοηθήσαντες, τἢ τε μάχη προετέρησαν καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν πολεμίων β ἀνεῖλον. εἶτα διὰ τῆς Ἰμβρίκων χώρας διελθόντες ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἰυρρηνίαν πολεμίαν οὖσαν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Καίριον φρούριον ἔξεπολιόρκησαν. διαπρεσβευομένων δὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὑπὲρ ἀνοχῶν πρὸς μὲν Ταρκυνιήτας εἰς ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰυρρηνοὺς ἄπαντας εἰς ἔνιαυτὸν ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσαντο.

whatever houses they chanced at any time to be near, 202 D. After these had occupied a certain elevation, the Carthaginians, now that all the citizens had assembled in arms, drew up their forces against those who had taken part in the uprising. Finally, sending as envoys such of the oldest men as were qualified and offering amnesty, they came to terms. Against the rest they invoked no penalty on account of the dangers that surrounded the city, but they cruelly tortured Bormilear himself and put him to death, paying no heed to the oaths which had been given. In this way, then, the Carthaginians, after having been in the gravest danger, preserved the constitution of their fathers.

Agathoeles, loading eargo vessels with his spoil and embarking on them those of the men who had come from Cyrene who were useless for war, sent them to Syracuse. But storms arose, and some of the ships were destroyed, some were driven to the Pithecusan Islands off the coast of Italy, and a few came safe to

Syrneuse.1

In Italy 2 the Roman consuls, going to the aid of the Marsi, against whom the Samnites were making war, were victorious in the battle and slew many of the enemy. Then, crossing the territory of the Umbrians, they invaded Etruria, which was hostile, and took by siege the fortress called Caerium. When the people of the region sent envoys to ask a truce, the consuls made a truce for forty years with the Tarquinians but with all the other Etruscans for one year.

1 Continued in chap. 54. 1.

² Continued from chap. 36. 6. Cp. Livy, 9. 41. 5-7. ² Unknown. Caprium in Table of Contents, p. 188, and in ear, lect, here. ⁴ Continued in chap. 80. 1.

45. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μέν ήργεν 'Αναξικράτης, έν 'Γώμη δε υπατοι κατέστησαν "Αππιος Κλαύδιος και Λεύκιος Ούολόμνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δημήτριος μὲν ὁ 'Αντινόνου παραλαβών παρά του πατρός δύναμιν άδραν πεζικήν τε και ναυτικήν, έτι δε βελών και τών άλλων των είς πολιορκίων χρησίμων την άρμάζουσαν παρασκευήν εξέπλευσεν έκ της Εφέσου. παράγγελμα δ' είχεν έλευθερούν πάσας μέν τὰς κατά την Ελλάδα πύλεις, πρώτην δε την 'Αθη-2 ναίων, φρουρουμένην ύπο Κασάνδρου. καταπλεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ μετά της δυνάμεως είς τον Πειραιά καί πανταχόθεν προσβαλόντος έξ εφώδου και κήρυγμα ποιησαμένου, Διονύσιος ὁ καθεσταμένος ἐπὶ της Μουνυχίας φρούραρχος και Δημήτριος ό Φαληρεύς επιμελητής της πόλεως γεγενημένος ύπο Κασάνδρου, πολλούς έχοντες στρατιώτας, από των 3 τειχών ημύνουτο, των δ' Αντιγύνου στρατιωτών τινες βιασάμενοι και κατά την ακτην ύπερβάντες έντος του τείχους παρεδέξαντο πλείους των συναγωνιζομένων. τον μέν οθν Πειραιά τοθτον τον τρόπου άλωναι συνέβη, των δ' ένδου Διονύσιος μέν ό φρούραρχος είς την Μουιυχίαν συνέφυγε, Δημή-4 τριος δ' ο Φαληρεύς απεχώρησεν είς άστυ. τη δ' ύστεραία πεμφθείς μεθ' έτέρων πρεσβευτής ύπο του δήμου πρός Δημήτριον και περί της αυτουμίας διαλεγθείς και της ίδίας άσφαλείας έτυχε παρα-

After ποιησαμένου l'incher in apparatus suggests the addition of ότι Δημήτριος τὰς 'Αθήνας ελευθεροί, ep. Plutarch, Demetrius, 8.

BOOK XX, 45, 1-4

15. When that year had come to an end, Anaxi- some. erates was arehon in Athens and in Rome Appins Claudius and Lucius Volumnius became consuls.1 While these held office, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, having received from his father strong land and sea forces, also a suitable supply of missiles and of the other things requisite for carrying on a siege, set sail from Ephesus. He had instructions to free all the cities throughout Greece, but first of all Athens, which was held by a garrison of Cassander,2 Sailing into the Peiracus with his forces, he at once made an attack on all sides and issued a proclamation.3 Dionysius, who had been placed in command of the garrison on Munychia, and Demetrius of Phalerum, who had been made military governor of the city by Cassander, resisted him from the walls with many soldiers. Some of Antigonus' men, attacking with violence and effecting an entrance along the coast, admitted many of their fellow soldiers within the wall. The result was that in this way the Peiraeus was taken; and, of those within it, Dionysius the commander fled to Munychia and Demetrius of Phalerum withdrew into the city. On the next day, when he had been sent with others as envoys by the people to Demetrius and had discussed the independence of the city and his own security, he obtained a safe-conduct for himself and, giving

I For this campaign op. Plutarch, Demetrius, 8-9.

4 i.e. of Athens.

² Anaxierates was archon in 307/8 n.c. In the Fasti the consuls for 307 n.c. are Ap. Claudius Caccus and L. Volumnius Flamma Violens; ep. Livy, 9, 42, 2. The nurrative is continued from chap, 37, 6.

² If we accept Fischer's suggested supplement, we should add "that Demetrius was freeing Athens."

πομπης και τὰ κατὰ τὰς ᾿Λθήνας ἀπογινώσκων ἔφυγεν εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον δεἰς Λἴγυπτον. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ἔτη δέκα τῆς πάλεως ἐπιστατήσας ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν ᾿Λθηναίων κομισάμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐψηφίσατο τιμὰς τοῖς αἰτίοις

της αυτονομίας.

Δημήτριος δ' επιστήσας τους πετροβόλους καί τας άλλας μηχανάς και τὰ βέλη προσέβαλλο τη ο Μουνυχία και κατά γην και κατά θάλατταν. άμυνομένων δε τών ενδον από των τειχών ευρώστως συνέβαινε τούς μέν περί Διονύσιον πρυέχειν ταίς δυσχωρίαις καὶ ταις τῶν τόπων ὑπερυχαις, οὖσης της Μουνυχίας όχυρας ου μόνον ζε φώσεως άλλα καί ταις των τειχών κατασκευαίς, τούς δέ περί τον Δημήτριον τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλαπλασίους είναι και ταις παρασκευαις πυλλά πλεον-7 εκτείν. τέλος δ' επί δύο ήμερας συνεχώς της πολιορκίας γινομένης οἱ μέν φρουροὶ τοῖς καταπέλταις και πετροβόλοις συντιτρωσκόμενοι και διαδόχους ούκ έχοντες ήλαττούντο, οί δε περί τον Δημήτριου έκ διαδοχής κινδυνεύοντες καὶ νεαλείς άςὶ γινόμενοι, διὰ τῶν πετροβύλων ἐρημωθέντος τοῦ τείχους, ενέπεσον είς την Μουνυχίαν καὶ τούς μέν φρουρούς ηνάγκασαν θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, τον δέ φρούραρχον Διονύσιον εζώγρησαν.

46. Τούτων δε δλίγαις ήμεραις κατευτυχηθέντων δ μεν Δημήτριος κατασκάψας την Μουνυχίαν δλόκληρον τῷ δήμω την ελευθερίαν ἀποκατέστησεν καὶ 2 φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνέθετο, οἱ δε "Αθηναῖοι γράψαντος ψήφισμα Στρατοκλέους εψηup the direction of Athens, fled to Thebes and later 307 24. into Egypt to Ptolemy. And so this man, after he had been director of the city for ten years, was driven from his fatherland in the way described. The Athenian people, having recovered their freedom, decreed honours to those responsible for their liberation.

Demetrius, however, bringing up ballistae and the other engines of war and missiles, assaulted Munychia both by land and by sea. When those within defended themselves stoutly from the walls, it turned out that Dionysius had the advantage of the difficult terrain and the greater height of his position, for Munychia was strong both by nature and by the fortifications which had been constructed, but that Denietrius was many times superfor in the number of his soldiers and had a great advantage in his equipment. Finally, after the attack had continued unremittingly for two days, the defenders, severely wounded by the catapults and the ballistae and not having any men to relieve them, had the worst of it: and the men of Demetrius, who were fighting in relays and were continually relieved, after the wall had been cleared by the ballistae, broke into Munychia, forced the garrison to lay down its arms, and took the commander Dionysius alive.4

46. After gaining these successes in a few days and razing Munychia completely, Demetrius restored to the people their freedom and established friendship and an alliance with them. The Athenians, Stratocles

¹ Cp. Diogenes Lacritics, 5, 78; Strabo, 9, 1, 20 (p. 398).

⁸ Pluturch, Demetrius, 9, places the capture of Megara (cp. chap. 46. 3) between the surrender of Athens and the taking of Munychia.

φίσαντο χρυσᾶς μὲν εἰκόνας ἐφ' ἄρματος στῆσαι τοῦ τε 'Αντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου πλησίον 'Αρμοδίου καὶ 'Αριστογείτονος, στεφαικῶσαι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἀπὸ ταλάντων διακοσίων καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρυσαμένους προσαγορεῦσαι Σωτήρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰς δέκα φυλὰς προσθεῖναι δύο, Δημητριάδα καὶ 'Αντιγονίδα, καὶ συντελεῖν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγῶνας καὶ πομπὴν καὶ θυσίαν, ἐνυφαίνειν τε' αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τῆς

3 'Αθηνάς πέπλον.' ό μεν οὖν δῆμος εν τῷ Λαμακῷ πολέμω καταλυθεὶς ὑπ' 'Αντιπάτρου μετ' ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα παραδόξως ἐκομίσατο τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος, φρουρουμένης τῆς Μεγαρέων πόλεως, ἐκπολιορκήσας αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκεν τὴν αὐτονομίαν τῷ δήμω καὶ τιμῶν ἀξιολόγων

έτυχεν ύπο των εύ παθόντων.

4 'Λυτίγονος δέ, παραγενομένων πρός αὐτὸν 'Λθήνηθεν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τό τε περὶ τῶν τιμῶν ἀναδόντων ψήφισμα καὶ περὶ σίτου καὶ ξύλων εἰς ναυπηγίαν διαλεχθέντων, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς πυροῦ μὲν μεδίμνων πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ῦλην δὲ τὴν ἱκανὴν ναυσὶν ἔκατόν· ἐξ "Ιμβρου δὲ τὴν φρουρὰν δέζαγαγὰν ἀπόδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Δημήτριον ἔγραψε κελεύων τῶν μὲν συμμαχίδων πόλεων συνέδρους πυστήσασθαι τοὺς βουλευσομένους κοινῆ περὶ τῶν τῆ 'Γλλάδι συμφερόντων, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Κύπρον πλεῦσαι καὶ διαπολεμῆσαι τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τοὺς

1 δυυφαίνειν τε Dindorf: δευφαινόντων.
2 κατ' δυιαυτόν after πέπλον untitted by Wesseling.

¹ For the honours conferred on Demetrius and Antigonus cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 10-12. For Stratocles, an old political ally of Hypereides, who had acted as an accuser in 268

BOOK XX, 46, 2-5

writing the decree, voted to set up golden statues 307 to: of Antigonus and Demetrius in a chariot near the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, to give them both honorary crowns at a cost of two hundred talents. to consecrate an altar to them and call it the altar of the Saviours, to add to the ten tribes two more, Demetrias and Antigonis, to hold annual games in their honour with a procession and a sacrifice, and to weave their portraits in the peplos of Athena. Thus the common people, deprived of power in the Lamian War by Antipater, fifteen years afterwards unexpectedly recovered the constitution of the fathers. Although Megara was held by a garrison, Demetrius took it by siege, restored their autonomy to its people, and received noteworthy honours from those whom he had served.3

When an embassy had come to Antigonus from Athens and had delivered to him the decree concerning the honours conferred upon him and discussed with him the problem of grain and of timber for ships, he gave to them one hundred and fifty thousand medimni of grain and timber sufficient for one hundred ships; he also withdrew his garrison from Imbros and gave the city back to the Athenians. He wrote to his son Demetrius ordering him to call together counsellors from the allied cities who should consider in common what was advantageous for Greece, and to sail himself with his army to Cyprus and finish the war with

the affair of Harpalus and had played an important rôle in Athens during the Lamian War, ep. Plutarch, Demetrius, 11-12. A number of decrees which he introduced in the Assembly in this period are extant, e.g. 16, 3, 240, 247.

About 230,000 bushels.

² Cp. Book 18, 18,

But ep. the note on chap. 45, 7.

6 Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς. οὖτος μεν οὖν συντόμως πάντα πράξας κατὰ τὰς εντολὰς τοῦ πατρός καὶ κομισθεὶς επὶ Καρίας παρεκάλει τοὺς 'Ροδίους πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου πόλεμον. οὐ προσεχόντων δ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κοινὴν εἰρήνην αἰρουμένων ἄγειν πρὸς ἄπαντας ταύτην ἀρχὴν συνέβη γενέαθαι τῷ

δήμω της πρός 'Αντίγονον αλλοτριότητος.

47. 'Ο δε Δημήτριος παραπλεύσας είς Κιλικίας κάκειθεν ναθς και στρατιώτας προσλαβόμενος διέπλευσεν είς την Κύπρον έχων πεζούς μεν μυρίους πεντακισγιλίους, ίππεις δέ τετρακοσίους, ναθς δέ ταχυναυτούσας μεν τριήρεις πλείους τών έκατου δέκα, των δέ βαρυτέρων στρατιωτίδων πεντήκοντα καί τρείς και πόρια των παντοδαπών ίκανα τω 2 πλήθει των ίππεων τε και πεζών. και το μέν πρώτον κατεστρατυπέδευσεν έν τη παραλία της Καρπασίας και νεωλκήσας τα σκάφη χάρακι και τάφρω βαθεία την παρεμβολήν ωχύρωσεν έπειτα τοις πλησιοχώροις προσβολάς ποιησώμενος είλε κατά κράτος Ούρανίαν και Καρπασίαν, των δί νεών την ίκανην φυλακην απολιπών ανέζευξε μετά 3 της δυνάμεως έπι την Σαλαμίνα. ό δε τεταγμένος θπό Πτολεμαίου της νήσου στρατηγός Μενέλαος συναγαγών τούς στρατιώτας έκ των φρουρίων διέτοιβεν εν Σαλαμίνι, απεχύντων δε τεσσαράκουτα

¹ propers omitted by Hertlein. Cp. note on translation.

¹ Cp. chap. 27.

² So the text; but in chap. 50, 1-3 we find that Demetrius, after leaving 10 quinqueremes at Salamis, had 10 quinqueremes, 10 sixes, and 7 sevens in his left wing alone. It 270

the generals of Ptolemy as soon as possible.\(^1\) De-207 M. metrius, promptly doing all according to his father's orders, moved toward Caria and summoned the Rhodians for the was against Ptolemy. They did not obey, preferring to maintain a common peace with all, and this was the beginning of the hostility between

that people and Antigonus.

47. Demetrius, after coasting along to Cilicia and there assembling additional ships and soldiers, sailed to Cyprus with fifteen thousand foot-soldiers and four bundred horsemen, more than one hundred and ten swift triremes, lifty-three heavier transports,2 and freighters of every kind sufficient for the strength of his cavalry and infantry. First he went into camp on the coast of Carpasla,3 and after beaching his ships, strengthened his encampment with a palisade and a deep moat; then, making raids on the peoples who lived near by, he took by storm Urania and Carpasia; then leaving an adequate guard for the ships, he moved with his forces against Salamis. Menelaus, who had been made general of the island by Ptolemy, had gathered his soldiers from the outposts and was waiting in Salamis; but when the enemy was at a

seems certain, therefore, that the Bapárapai orpariáribes are not transports (which is the regular meaning of the term) but heavy warships (quinquerenes and larger) carrying armed men as well as oursinen. Such ships would fight by boarding rather than by ramming (ep. Turn, Hellenitic Military and Naval Developments, 144). It is quite certain also that among the raxwavrabaai vabs are the quadriremes mentioned in the battle (chap. 50, 3), the rowpose of the text being an error either of the capyists or of Diodorus himself. For this whole passage ep. Beluch, Griechische Geschichte², 4, 1, 154, note 1.

3 On the north coast of Cyprus, near the end of the cape

that projects to the north-east.

4 The exact situation of this city is unknown.

⁴ Cp. chap. 91, 1.

σταδίους των πολεμίων εξηλθεν έχων πεζούς μέν μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ ὀκτακοπίους. γενομένης δε μάχης επ' ολίγον χρόνον οι μεν περί τον Μενέλαον εκβιασθέντες ετράπησαν, ο δέ Δημήτριος συνδιώξας τους πολεμίους είς την πόλιν αίγμαλώτους μέν έλαβεν ου πολύ ελάττους τρισγι-4 λίων, ανείλε δε περί γιλίους. τους δ' αλόντας το μέν πρώτον απολύσας των έγκλημάτων καταδιείλεν είς τας των ιδίων στρατιωτών τάξεις αποδιδρασκόντων δ' αθτών πρώς τους περί του Μετέλαον διά τὸ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἐν Λίγύπτω καταλελοιπέναι παρά Πτολεμαίω, γρούς αμεταθέτους όντας ενεβίβασεν είς τὰς ναθς καὶ πρός 'Αντίγονον είς Συρίαν ansaresher.

5 Ούτος δε τουτον τον χρόνον διέτριβε περί την άνω Συρίαν, πόλιν κτίζων περί του 'Ορόντην πυταμον την ωνομασμένην 'Αντιγονίαν αφ' ζαυτού. κατευκεύαζε δε πολυτελώς, την περίμετρον ύποστησάμενος σταδίων έβδομήκουτα εψφυής γάρ ήν ο τόπος εφεδρεύσαι τη τε Βαβυλώνι και ταις ανω σατραπείαις και πάλιν τη κάτω Συρία και ταίς ε περί λίγύπτου σατραπείαις. Ου μην πολύν γε χρόνον συνέβη μείναι την πόλω, Σελεύκου καθελόντος αυτήν και μεταγαγύντος έπι την κτισθείσαν μέν ύπ' αύτου, άπ' έκείνου δε κληθείσαν Σελεύκειαν. αλλά περί μέν τούτων ακριβίος έκαστα δηλώσομεν έπι τούς οικείους χρύνους παραγενη-

¹ ταϊς περί Λίγύπτου σατραπείαις Rolsko, ταϊς απ' Λί. στραreious Madvig, rois wepl Al. wpaymant Pischer in apparatus, ep. rhap, 104. 1: ταῖς ἀπ' Αἰ. σατραπείας.
⁸ ἀπό δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν 'Αντιόχειαν Dimborf.

distance of forty stades, he came out with twelve 107 p.c. thousand foot and about eight hundred horse. In a battle of short duration which occurred, the forces of Menelalis were overwhelmed and routed; and Demetrius, pursuing the enemy into the city, took prisoners numbering not much less than three thousand and killed about a thousand. At first he freed the captives of all charges and distributed them among the units of his own soldiers; but when they ran off to Menelalis because their baggage had been left behind in Egypt with Ptolemy, recognizing that they would not change sides, he forced them to embark on his ships and sent them off to Antigonus in Syria.

At this time Antigonus was tarrying in upper Syria, founding a city on the Orontes River, which he called Antigonia after himself. He laid it out on a lavish scale, making its perimeter seventy stades?; for the location was naturally well adapted for watching over Babylon and the upper satrapies, and again for keeping an eye upon lower Syria and the satrapies near Egypt.³ It happened, however, that the city did not survive very long, for Seleucus dismantled it and transported it to the city which he founded and called Seleucea after himself.⁴ But we shall make these matters clear in detail when we

Alsont 9 miles.
Or, reading ταις ἀπ' Αλγύπτου στρατσίαις, " and expeditions from Egypt"; or again, reading ταις περὶ Αλγύπτου

mpaymon, " and affairs in Egypt."

About 41 miles.

⁴ So the text; but the city was actually called Antiochea after Seleneus' father. The error is probably Diodorus' rather than the copylet's. Antigonia was not completely abandoned; at least it is mentioned as if still in existence in 51 n.c. (Dio Cassius, 40, 29, 1. Up, also Benziger, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.c., Antaocheia (1) and Antigoneia (1).)

7 θίντος τῶν δὶ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον οἱ περὶ τὰν Μενέλαον ἡττημένοι τῆ μάχη τὰ μὲν βέλη καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς παρεκόμισαν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις διαλαβόντες τὰς ἐπάλξεις παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ὁρῶντες καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον πρὸς 8 πολιορκίαν ἐτοιμαζόμενον, πρὸς δὲ Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Λίγυπτον τοὺς δηλώσοντας περὶ τῶν ἐλαττωμιίτων καὶ ἀξιώσοντας βοηθεῖν, ὡς κινδυνευόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν τῆ νήσιρ πραγμάτων.

48. Δημήτριος δέ την τε τών Σαλαμινίων δρών πόλιν ούκ εὐκαταφρόνητον οὖσαν καὶ στρατιωτών πλήθος ύπάρχον έν αὐτή των άμυνομένων έκρινο μηχανάς τε τοίς μεγέθεσιν ύπεραιρούσας κατασκευάζειν και καταπέλτας όξυβελείς και λιθοβόλους παντοίους καὶ τὴν άλλην κατασκευὴν καταπληκτικήν. μετεπέμψατο δέ καὶ τεχνίτας έκ της 'Λούις καὶ σίδηρον, έτι δ' ύλης πληθυς καὶ τῆς άλλης χυρη-2 γίας την επιτήδειον κατασκευήν. ταχύ δε πάντων εύτρεπών αυτώ γενομένων συνέπηξε μηχαιτήν την ονομαζομένην ελέπολιν, το πλάτος έχουσαν εκάστην πλευράν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πέντε πήχεις, τὸ δ' ύψος πηχών εννενήκοντα, διειλημμένην στέγοις έννέα, υπότροχον δε πάσαν τροχοίς στερευίς τέσ-3 σαρσιν όκταπήχεσι τὸ ΰψος. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ κριούς ύπερμεγέθεις και χελώνας δύο κριοφύρους. της δ' έλεπόλεως είς μεν τας κάτω στέγας είσήνεγκε πετροβόλους παντοίους, ών ήσαν οι μέγιστοι τριτάλαντοι, είς δε τὰς μέσας καταπέλτας δίνβελεῖς

⁸ For this campaign ep. Plutarch, Demetrius, 15-17,

No further reference to this is found in the extant portions of the history.

BOOK XX, 47, 6-48, 3

come to the proper time. As to affairs in Cyprus, 207 p.c. Menelaüs, after having been defeated in the battle, had missiles and engines brought to the walls, assigned positions on the battlements to his soldiers, and made ready for the fight; and since he saw that Demetrius was also making preparations for siege, he sent messengers into Egypt to Ptolemy to inform him about the defeat and to ask him to send aid as his interests

on the Island were in danger.

48. Since Demetrius saw that the city of the Salaminians was not to be despised and that a large force was in the city defending it, he determined to prepare siege engines of very great size, catapults for shooting bolts and ballistae of all kinds, and the other equipment that would strike terror. If e sent for skilled workmen from Asia, and for iron, likewise for a large amount of wood and for the proper complement of other supplies. When everything was quickly made ready for him, he constructed a device called the "helepolis," which had a length of forty-five cubits on each side and a height of ninety cubits. It was divided into nine storeys, and the whole was mounted on four solid wheels each eight cubits high. He also constructed very large battering rams and two penthouses to carry them. On the lower levels of the liclepolis he mounted all sorts of ballistae, the largest of them capable of hurling missiles weighing three talents 1; on the middle levels he placed the largest

4 About 180 lbs.

² Literally, "city-taker." Cp. chap. 91. If the cubit used is the standard Attic measure of about 1½ feet, the dimensions given are about 68 feet on each side and 135 feet in height, with wheels 12 feet in diameter; but a shorter Macedonian cubit, perhaps about one foot long, is possible (Tarn, Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments, 15-16).

μεγίστους, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀνωτάτας ὀξυβελεῖς τε τοὺς ἐλαχίστους καὶ πετροβόλων πληθος, ἄνδρας τε τοὺς χρησομένους τούτοις κατὰ τρόπον πλείους τῶν διακοσίων.

4 Προσαγαγών δέ τὰς μηχανάς τῆ πόλει καὶ πυκνοίς γρώμενος τοις βέλεσι τη μέν τας επάλξεις απέσυρε τοῖς πετροβόλοις, τῆ δὲ τὰ τείχη διέσεισε 5 τοις κριοίς. άμυνομένων δέ και των ένδον εθρώστως καὶ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν έτέρας μηχανάς άντιταττόντων έφ' ήμέρας μέν τένας αμφίδοξος την δ κίνδυνος, αμφοτέρων κακοπαθούντων και κατατραυματιζομένων το δέ τελευταίων του τείγους πίπτοντος και της πόλεως κινδυνευούσης άλωναι κατά κράτος νυκτός επιγενομένης έληξε τὰ της 6 τειχομαχίας. οι δέ περί του Μενέλαυν ακριβώς είδότες άλωσομένην την πόλιν, εί μή τι καινοτομοίν έπιχειρήσειαν, ήθροισαν ύλης ξηράς πλήθος, ταύτην δέ περί το μεσονύκτιον εμβαλόντες ταις των πολεμίων μηχαναίς και άμα πάντες οιστούς πυρσυφόρους από των τειχών αφέντες ανήψαν τά 7 μέγιστα των έργων. ἄφνω δὲ τῆς φλογός εἰς ΰψος άρθείσης οι περί του Δημήτριου επεχείρησαν μεν βοηθείν, του δέ πυρός καταταχήσαντος συνέβη τὰς 8 μηχανάς κατακαυθήναι και πολλούς των έν αυταίς όντων διαφθαρήναι. ό δὲ Δημήτριος ἀποσφαλείς της έλπίδος ούδ' ώς έληγεν, άλλα προσεκαρτέρει τη πολιορκία και κατά γην και κατά θάλατταν, νομίζων τω χρόνω καταπολεμήσειν τους πολειιίους.

49. Πτυλεμαΐος δε πυθόμενος την των ιδίων ήτταν εξέπλευσεν εκ της Αιγύπτου δύναμιν έχων άξιόλογον πεζικήν τε και ναυτικήν. κατενεχθείς δε της Κύπρου πρός την Πάφον έκ τε των πάλεων

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catapults, and on the highest his lightest catapults 307 n.c. and a large number of ballistae; and he also stationed on the helepolis more than two hundred men to

operate these engines in the proper manner.

Bringing the engines up to the city and hurling a shower of missiles, he cleared the battlements with the ballistae and shattered the walls with the rams. Since those within resisted boldly and opposed his engines of war with other devices, for some days the battle was doubtful, both sides suffering hardships and severe wounds; and when finally the wall was falling and the city was in danger of being taken by storm, the assault was interrupted by the coming of night. Menclaüs, seeing clearly that the city would be taken unless he tried something new, gathered a large amount of dry wood, at about midnight threw this upon the siege engines of the enemy, and at the same time all shot down fire-bearing arrows from the walls and set on fire the largest of the siege engines. As the flames suddenly blazed high, Demetrius tried to come to the rescue; but the flames got the start of him, with the result that the engines were completely destroyed and many of those who manned them were lost. Demetrius, although disappointed in his expectations, did not stop but pushed the siege persistently by both land and sea, believing that he would overcome the enemy in time.

49. When Ptolemy heard of the defeat of his men,¹ he sailed from Egypt with considerable land and sea forces. Reaching Cyprus at Paphos, he received

² πάντες οἰστούς Fischer, ep. Arrian, 2. 21, 3; πάντας τούς.

¹ The defeat described in chap. 47. 3.

¹ Fischer suggests the addition of έλαττόνων before πετροβόλων.

παρεδέξατο τα σκάφη και παρέπλευσεν είς Κίτιον, 2 της Σαλαμίνος απέχον σταδίους διακοσίους. είχε δέ τὰς πάπας ναθς μακράς έκειτον καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τούτων δ' ήν ή μεγίστη πεντήρης, ή δ' έλαχίστη τετρήρης στρατιωτικά δέ πόρια ταύταις επηκολούθει πλείω των διακοσίων, αγοντα πεζούς 3 οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων. οὖτος μὲν οὖν πρὸς του Μενέλαον κατά γην επεμβέ τινας, διακελευόμενος τὰς ναθς, αν ή δυνατόν, κατά τάχος ἐκ τῆς Σαλαμίνος πρός αθτόν αποστείλαι, ούσας έξήκοντα: ήλπιζε γάρ, εί προσλάβοι ταύτας, ραδίως κρατήσειν τη ναυμαχία, διακοσίοις σκάφεσιν άγωνιζόμενος. 4 ο δε Δημήτριος νοήσας αὐτου την επιβολήν επί μέν της πολιορκίας απέλιπε μέρος της δυνάμεως, τας δε ναθς απάσας πληρώσας και των στρατιωτών τούς κρατίστους εμβιβάσας βέλη και πετροβόλους ενέθετο και των τρισπιθάμων οξυβελών τους ίκα-5 νούς ταις πρώραις επέστησε. κοσμήσας δε πολυτελίος πρός ναυμαχίαν του στόλου περιέπλευσε την πόλιν και κατά το στόμα του λιμένος μικρον έξω βέλους άφεις τας άγκύρας διενυκτέρευσεν, αμα μέν τας έκ της πόλεως ναυς κωλύων συμμίξαι ταις άλλαις, άμα δέ καραδοκών τον ἐπίπλουν τών ποβ λεμίων και πρός ναυμαχίαν ών έτοιμος. του δί Πτολεμαίου πλέοντος έπι την Σαλαμίνα και των ύπηρετικών πλοίων συνεπομένων πόρρωθεν καταπληκτικου ύρασθαι συνέβαινε τον στόλον διά το πλήθος.

50. '() δε Δημήτριος κατανοήσας τον επίπλουν 'Αντισθένην μεν τον ναύαρχον έχοντα ναῦς δέκα

About 23 miles, which is approximately correct for the 278

ships from the cities and coasted along to Citium, 307 B.C. which was distant from Salamis two hundred stades.1 He had in all one hundred and forty a ships of war, of which the largest were quinqueremes and the smallest quadriremes; more than two hundred transports followed, which carried at least ten thousand footsoldiers. Ptolemy sent certain men to Menelaüs by land, directing him, if possible, to send him quickly the ships from Salamis, which numbered sixty; for he hoped that, if he received these as reinforcement, he would easily be superior in the naval engagement since he would have two hundred ships in the battle. Learning of his intention, Demetrius left a part of his forces for the siege; and, manning all his ships and embarking upon them the best of his soldiers, he equipped them with missiles and ballistae and mounted on the prows a sufficient number of catapults for throwing bolts three spans 3 in length. After making the fleet ready in every way for a naval battle, he sailed around the city and, anchoring at the mouth of the harbour just out of range, spent the night, preventing the ships from the city from joining the others, and at the same time watching for the coming of the enemy and occupying a position ready for battle. When Ptolemy sailed up toward Salamis, the service vessels following at a distance, his fleet was awe-inspiring to behold because of the multitude of its ships.

50. When Demetrius observed Ptolemy's approach, he left the admiral Antisthenes with ten of the

distance by land; but the distance by sea around Cape Pedalium is at least twice as great.

<sup>Plutarch, Demetrius, 16. 1, gives the number as 150.
About 21 inches. For this battle ep. Plutarch, Demetrius,
16: Polyaenus, 4. 7. 7.</sup>

των πεντηρικών απέλιπε κωλύσοντα τας έκ της πόλεως ναθς επεξιέναι πρός την ναυμαχίαν, έχοντος τοῦ λιμένος στενον τον έκπλουν, τοῖς δ' ίππεῦσι προσέταξε παράγειν παρά τον αίγιαλόν, "ν' εάν τι γένηται πταίσμα, διασώσειαν τους πρός την γήν 2 διανηξομένους. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκτάξας τὰς ναθς ἀπήντα τοις πολεμίοις, έχων της απάσας όκτω πλείους των έκατον σύν ταις πληρωθείσαις έκ των χωρίων των ληφθέντων τούτων δ' ήσαν αί μέγισται μέν έπτή-3 ρεις, αί πλεισται δέ πεντήρεις. και το μέν είνήνυμον κέρας επείχον επτήρεις έπτα Φοινίκων, τετρήρεις δέ τριάκοντα των 'Αθηναίων, Μηδίου του ναυάρχου την ήγεμονίαν έχοντος επίπλους δί τούτοις εταξεν εξήρεις δέκα και πεντήρεις άλλας τοσαύτας, διεγνωκώς δαχυρόν κατασκευάσαι τοῦτο το κέρας εφ' ου και αυτός ημελλε διαγωνίζεσθαι. 4 κατά μέσην δε την τάξιν τα ελάχιστα των σκαφών έστησεν, ών ήγουντο Θεμίσων τε ό Σάμιος καί Μαρσύας ό τὰς Μακεδονικὰς πράξεις συνταξάμενος. το δε δεξιον είχε κέρας 'Ηγήσιππός τε ο 'Αλικαρνασσεύς καὶ Πλειστίας ὁ Κώος, ἀρχικυβερνήτης ών του σύμπαντος στόλου.

5 Πτολεμαΐος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἔτι ινικτὸς ἐπέπλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, νομίζων φθάσειν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν εἴσπλουν ποιησάμενος ὡς δὶ ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης οὐ μακρὰν ὁ τῶν ἐναντίων

³ διασώσειαν Dindorf, διασώσαμν Fischer, F, διασώση μέν RX.
⁸ See note on translation.

Jaws after διεγνωκώς omitted by Dindorf.
Φθάσειν Dindorf: Φθάσαι Fischer, following the MSS.

¹ The number is probably corrupt; Platarch (Demetrius, 280)

quinqueremes to prevent the ships in the city from 207 mc. going forth for the battle, since the harbour had a narrow exit; and he ordered the cavalry to patrol the shore so that, if any wreck should occur, they might rescue those who should swim across to the land. He himself drew up the fleet and moved against the enemy with one hundred and eight ships in all, including those that had been provided with crews from the captured towns. The largest of the ships were sevens and most of them were quinqueremes.2 The left wing was composed of seven Phoenician sevens and thirty Athenian quadriremes, Medius the admiral having the command. Sailing behind these he placed ten sixes and as many quinqueremes, for he had decided to make strong this wing where he himself was going to fight the decisive battle. In the middle of the line he stationed the lightest of his ships, which Themison of Samos and Marsyas,3 who compiled the history of Macedonia, commanded. The right wing was commanded by Hegesippus of Halicarnassus and Pleistias of Cos, who was the chief pilot of the whole fleet.

At first, while it was still night, Ptolemy made for Salamis at top speed, believing that he could gain an entrance before the enemy was ready; but as day broke, the fleet of the enemy in battle array was

¹⁶⁾ gives the total as 180, Polyaenus (4, 7, 7) as 170. If we were right in regard to the βαρύτεραι στρατιώτιδες (cp. chap. 47, 1, and note), Demetrins by Diodorus' own count should have had in this battle 110 triremes and quadriremes and 43 heavier warships (10 having been left at Salamis) plus any from the captured ports.

⁴ This statement also appears to be false.

According to Suidas he was a half-brother of Antigonus. He wrote a history of Macedonia in 10 books, one of Attica in 12 books, and a work on the education of Alexander.

στόλος εκτεταγμένος έωρατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ πρὸς 6 τὴν ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο. τὰ μεν οὖν πόρια πόρρωθεν επακολουθεῖν παρήγγειλεν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων νεῶν τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν τάξιν ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸ λαιὸν κέρας διακατεῖχς, συναγωνιζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν μεγίστων σκαφῶν. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς διατάξεως γενομένης εὐχὰς ἐκάτεροι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιοῦντο, καθάπερ ἦν ἔθος, διὰ τῶν κελευστῶν, συνεπιλα-

βυμένου και του πλήθους τη φωνή.

51. ()ὶ δε δυνάσται, ώς αν περί τοῦ βίου και τών όλων μέλλοντες διακινδυνεύειν, εν αγωνία πυλλή καθειστήκεισαν. Δημήτριος μέν ούν των έναντίων αποσχών ώς αν τρείς σταδίους ήρεν το συγκείμενον πρός μάχην σύσσημον, ασπίδα κεχρυσωμένην, φα-2 νεράν πάσιν έκ διαδοχής το παραπλήσιον δέ καί των περί Πτολεμαίον ποιησάντων ταχύ το διείργον διάστημα συνηρέθη. ώς δ' αι το σάλπιγγες τὸ πολεμικόν εσήμαινου καί συνηλάλαξαν αί δυνάμεις αμφότεραι, φερομένων απασών των νεών είς έμβολήν καταπληκτικώς το μέν πρώτον τοις τόξοις καὶ τοῖς πετροβόλοις, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς ἀκοντίσμασι πυκνοις χρώμενοι κατετραυμάτιζον τους υποπίπτοντας. είτα συνεγγισάντων των σκαφών και μελλούσης γίνεσθαι της εμβολής βιαίου οι μεν έπι των καταστρωμάτων συγκαθήκαν, οί δ' ερέται παρακληθέντες ύπο των κελευστών εκθυμότερον ενέκειντο. 3 άπο κράτους δε καί βίας ελαθεισών τών νεών αί μέν παρέσυρον άλλήλων τούς ταρσούς, ώστε πρός φυγήν και διωγμόν αχρήστους γίνεσθαι και τούς έπιβεβηκότας ἄνδρας ώρμηκότας πρός άλκὴν κωλύεσθαι της πρός τον κίνδυνον όρμης αί δε κατά πρώραν τοις εμβόλοις συρράττουσαι πρύμναν άνε-989

BOOK XX, 50, 5-51, 3

visible at no great distance, and Ptolemy also pre-207 Me. pared for the battle. Ordering the supply ships to follow at a distance and effecting a suitable formation of the other ships, he himself took command of the left wing with the largest of his warships fighting under him. After the fleet had been disposed in this way, both sides prayed to the gods as was the custom, the signalmen 1 leading and the crews joining in the

response.

51. The princes, since they were about to fight for their lives and their all, were in much anxiety. When Demetrius was about three stades 3 distant from the enemy, he raised the battle signal that had been agreed upon, a gilded shield, and this sign was made known to all by being repeated in relays. Ptolemy also gave a similar signal, the distance between the fleets was rapidly reduced. When the trumpets gave the signal for battle and both forces raised the battle cry, all the ships rushed to the encounter in a terrifying manner; using their bows and their ballistae at first, then their javelins in a shower, the men wounded those who were within range; then when the ships had come close together and the encounter was about to take place with violence, the soldiers on the decks crouched down and the oarsmen, spurred on by the signalmen, bent more desperately to their oars. As the ships drove together with force and violence, in some cases they swept off each other's oars so that the ships became useless for flight or pursuit, and the men who were on board, though eager for a fight, were prevented from joining in the battle; but where the ships had met prow to

The men who kept time for the oarsmen.
* About \(\frac{1}{2} \) mile.

κρούοντο πρός άλλην έμβολήν και κατετραυμάτιζον άλλήλους οι ταύταις εφεστώτες, άτε του σκοπού σύνεγγυς έκαστοις κειμένου. •τινές δὲ τῶν τριηραρχών έκ πλαγίας τυπτύντων και τών έμβόλων δυσαποσπάστως εχόντων επεπήδων επί τὰς των πολεμίων ναθς, πολλά και πάσχοντες δεινά και 4 διατιθέντες οι μεν γάρ των εγγιζώντων τοίχων εφαφάμενοι και σφαλέντες της βάσοως περιέπιπτον είς θάλασσαν και παραχρήμε τοις δύρασων ύπο των έφεστώτων εφονεύοντο, οί δε κρατήσαντες της έπιβυλής τους μέν ανήρουν, τους δε κατά την στενογωρίαν εκβιαζόμενοι περιέτρεπον είς το πέλαγος. όλως δί ποικίλαι και παράλογοι συνίσταντο μάχαι, πολλάκις των μέν ήττονων επικρατούντων διά τήν των σκαφων ύπερογήν, των δε κρειττύνων θλιβομένων δια το περί την στάσιν ελάττωμα και την ανωμαλίων των συμβαινόντων έν τοις τοιούτοις 5 κινδύνοις. επί μεν γάρ τών επί της γης άγώνων διάδηλος ή άρετη γίνεται, δυναμένη τυγχάνειν των πρωτείων μηδενός έξωθεν αὐτομίτου παρενοχλοῦντος κατά δε τάς ναυμαχίας πολλάς και ποικίλας αίτίας συμβαίνει παραλόγιος έλαττοῦν τοὺς δι' ανδρείαν δικαίως αν τυχύντας της νύκης.

52. Λαμπρότατα δε πάντων Δημήτριος ήγωνίσατο της έπτήρους επιβεβηκώς επί τη πρύμνη. αθρόων γαρ αυτή περιχυθέντων ους μεν τιτις λόγχαις ακοντίζων, ους δε έκ χειρός τω δόρατι τύπτων αυήρει πολλών δε και παντοίων βελών επ' αυτόν φερομένων α μεν προορώμενος εξέκλινεν, α δε τοις

prow with their rams, they drew back for another sor a c. charge, and the soldiers on board shot at each other with effect since the mark was close at hand for each party. Some of the men, when their captains had delivered a broadside blow and the rams had become firmly fixed, leaped aboard the ships of the enemy, receiving and giving severe wounds; for certain of them, after grasping the rail of a ship that was drawing near, missed their footing, fell into the sea, and at once were killed with spears by those who stood above them; and others, making good their intent, slew some of the enemy and, forcing others along the narrow deck, drove them into the sea. As a whole the fighting was varied and full of surprises: many times those who were weaker got the upper hand because of the height of their ships, and those who were stronger were foiled by inferiority of position and by the irregularity with which things happen in fighting of this kind. For in contests on land, valour is made clearly evident, since it is able to gain the upper hand when nothing external and fortuitous interferes; but in naval battles there are many causes of various kinds that, contrary to reason, defeat those who would properly gain the victory through prowess.

52. Demetrius fought most brilliantly of all, having taken his stand on the stern of his seven. A crowd of men rushed upon him, but by hurling his javelins at some of them and by striking others at close range with his spear, he slew them; and although many missiles of all sorts were aimed at him, he avoided some that he saw in time and received others

1 τυπτόντων Geer, έτυπτον.

² Reiske adds ἐωτοῦ οι ναναρχίδος before ἐπτήρους. Fischer suggests τῆς ἰδίας ἐπτήρους.

2 σκεπαστηρίοις υπλοις εδέχετο. τριών δ' υπερασπιζόντων αυτόν είς μεν λύγχη πληγείς έπεσεν, οί δί δύο κατετραυματίσθησαν. τέλος δε τοὺς ἀντιστάν-τας ὁ Δημήτριος εκβιασάμενος καὶ τροπὴν τοῦ δεξιού κερατος ποιήσας εὐθὺ καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς 3 φυγείν ηνάγκασεν. Πτολεμαίος δε τὰ μέγιστα τών σκαφών και τους κρατίστους άνδρας έχων μεθ' αύτου ραδίως ετρέψατο τούς καθ αύτον τεταγμένους και των νεών ας μεν κατέδυσεν, ας δε αύτάνδρους είλεν. ύποστρέφων δ' από τοῦ νικήμιιτος ήλπιζε και τὰς άλλας ραδίως χειρώσασθαι θεωρήσας δε τό τε δεξιον κέρας των ίδιων συιτετριμμένου και τάς συνεχείς άπάσας πρός φυγήν ώρμημένως, έτι δε τούς περί τον Δημήτριον μετά βάρους έπιφερομένους απέπλευσεν είς Κίτιον.

4 Δημήτριος δε νικήσας τη ναυμαχία τω μεν Νέωνι καὶ Βουρίχω παρέδωκε τὰ στρατιωτικά τῶν πλοίων, προστάξας διώκειν και τούς εν τη θαλάττη διανηχομένους άναλαμβάνειν αὐτος δε τὰς ίδίας ναῦς κοσμήσας τοις άκροστολίοις και τὰς άλούσας ἐφελκόμενος του πλούν εποιείτο πρός το στριιτύπεδοι s και τον ολκείον λιμένα. κατά δε τον της ναυμαχίας καιρον Μενέλαος ο έν τη Σαλαμίνι στρατηγός πληρώσας τὰς εξήκοντα ναθς εξαπέστειλε προς βοήθειαν τω Πτολεμαίω, ναύαρχου ἐπιστήσας Μενοίτιου. γενομένου δ' άγωνος περί το στόμα του λιμένος προς τας εφορμούσας ναθς και των έκ της πόλεως βιασαμένων αί μεν τοῦ Δημητρίου δέκα ναῦς είρυγου προς το πεζον στρατόπεδον, οί δε περί τον Μενυίτιον αναπλεύσαντες και των καιρών μικρύν ύστερήσαντες ἀνέστρεψαν πάλιν είς την Σαλαμίνα.

6 Τής δε ναυμαχίας τοιούτον τέλος λαβούσης τών

upon his defensive armour. Of the three men who 307 B.P. protected him with shields, one fell struck by a lance and the other two were severely wounded. Finally Demetrius drove back the forces confronting him, created a rout in the right wing, and forthwith forced even the ships next to the wing to flee. Ptolemy, who had with himself the heaviest of his ships and the strongest men, easily routed those stationed opposite him, sinking some of the ships and capturing others with their crows. Turning back from that victorious action, he expected easily to subdue the others also; but when he saw that the right wing of his forces had been shattered and all those next to that wing driven into flight, and further, that Demetrius was pressing on with full force, he sailed back to Citium.

Demetrius, after winning the victory, gave the transports to Neon and Burichus, ordering them to pursue and pick up those who were swimming in the sea; and he himself, decking his own ships with bow and stern ornaments and towing the captured craft, sailed to his camp and his home port. At the time of the naval battle Menelaüs, the general in Salamis, had manned his sixty ships and sent them as a reinforcement to Ptolemy, placing Menoetius in command. When a battle occurred at the harbour mouth with the ships on guard there, and when the ships from the city pressed forward vigorously, Demetrius' ten ships fied to the camp of the army; and Menoetius, after sailing out and arriving a little too late, returned to Salamis.

In the naval battle, whose outcome was as stated.

¹ δεξιόν Geer, cp. chaps. 50, 6; 52, 2: εὐώνυμον.

μεν πορίων ήλω πλείω των έκατύν, εν οίς ήσαν σχεδόν στρατιώται όκτακισχίλιοι των δε μακρών αυτανδροι μεν ελήφθησαν τεσσαράκοντα, διεφθάρησαν δέ περί δηδοήκοντα, ας πλήρεις ούσας θαλάττης κατήγαγου οι κρατήσαντες είς την πρώς τη πόλει στρατοπεδείαν. διεφβάρη δε και των Δημητρίου σκαφών είκοσι πάντα δε τής προσηκούσης επιμελείας τυχόντα παρείχετο τως άρμοζούσας χρείας. 53. Μετά δε ταθτα Πτολεμαίος απογυούς τα κατά την Κύπρον απήρεν είς Λίγυπτον. Δημήτριος δε πάσας τας εν τη νήσω πόλεις παραλαβών και τούς φρουρούντας στρατιώτας, τούτους μέν είς τάξεις κατεχώρισεν, όντας πεζούς μέν μυρίσης έξακισχιλίους συντεταγμένους, ίππεις δέ περί έξακοσίους, προς δε του πατέρα ταχέως εμβιβάσας είς την μεγίστην ναθν τους δηλώσοντας περί των κατ-2 ορβωθέντων εξαπέστειλεν. ό δ' Αντίγονος πυθάμενος την γεγενημένην νίκην και μετεωριαθείς έπί τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ προτερήματος διάδημα περιέθετο και το λοιπον έχρηματίζε βασιλεύς, συγχωρήσας καὶ τῷ Δημητρίω τῆς αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν προσηγορίας 3 και τιμής. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαίος οὐδεν τή ψυχή ταπεινωθείς δια την ήτταν και αυτός όμοιως ανέλαβε τὸ διάδημα καὶ πρὸς ἄπαντας ἀνέγραφεν έωντων Ι βασιλέα. παραπλησίως δε τούτοις και οι λοιποί δυνάσται ζηλοτυπήσαντες άνηγόρευον έαυτούς βασιλεις, Σέλευκος μεν προσφάτως της άνω σατραπείας προσκεκτημένος, Αυσίμαχος δε και Κάσανδρος τάς

έξ ἀρχῆς δοθείσας μερίδας διατηρούντες. 'Πμεῖς δὲ περὶ τούτων ἱκανῶς εἰρηκότες ἐν μέρει διέξιμεν περὶ τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν πρα-

χθέντων.

BOOK XX, 52, 6-53, 4

more than a hundred of the supply ships were taken, 307 n.c. upon which were almost eight thousand soldiers, and of the warships forty were captured with their crews and about eighty were disabled, which the victors towed, full of sea water, to the camp before the city. Twenty of Demetrius' ships were disabled, but all of these, after receiving proper care, continued to per-

form the services for which they were suited.

53. Thereafter Ptolemy gave up the fight in Cyprus and returned to Egypt. Demetrius, after he had taken over all the cities of the island and their garrisons, enrolled the men in companies; and when they were organized they came to sixteen thousand foot and about six hundred horse. He at once sent messengers to his father to inform him of the successes, embarking them on his largest ship. when Antigonus heard of the victory that had been gained, clated by the magnitude of his good fortune, he assumed the diadem and from that time on he used the style of king; and he permitted Demetrius also to assume this same title and rank. Ptolemy, however, not at all humbled in spirit by his defeat, also assumed the diadem and always signed himself king. And in a similar fashion in rivalry with them the rest of the princes also called themselves kings: Seleucus, who had recently gained the upper satrapies, and Lysimachus and Cassander, who still retained the territories originally allotted to them."

Now that we have said enough about these matters, we shall relate in their turn the events that took place

in Libya and in Sicily.

Continued in chap. 73.

Ptolemy's assumption of the diadem is placed in the year 305/4 by the Parlan Marble, FGrH, 239, B 23.

54. 'Αγαθοκλής γάρ πυθόμενος τους προειρημένους δυνάστας ανηρημένους το διάδημα καὶ νομίζων μήτε δυνάμεσι μήτε χώρα μήτε τοις πραγθείσι λείπεσθαι τούτων έαυτον άνηγόρευσε βασιλέα. καί διάδημα μεν ούκ έκρινεν έχειν έφόρει γάρ αίεί στέφανον, δυ κατά την επίθεσιν της τυραννίδος έκ τινος ερωσύνης περικείμενος ούκ απέθετο περί της δυναστείας άγωνιζόμενος ένιοι δέ φασιν αὐτον έπιτετηδευαθαι τουτον έξ άρχης φορείν διά το μή 2 λίαν αὐτὸν εὐχαίτην είναι. οὐ μην άλλά της προσηγορίας ταύτης άξιον τι σπεύδων πράξαι έπὶ μέν Ιτυκαίους έστράτευσεν άφεστηκότας άφνω δ' αὐτων τη πόλει προσπεσών και των έπι της χώρας απειλημμένων πολιτικών ζωγρήσας είς τριακυσίους το μέν πρώτον διδούς άφεσιν των έγκλημάτων ηξίου παραδιδόναι την πόλιν ου προσεγόντων δέ των ένδον συνεπήγνυε μηχανήν και κρεμάσας έπ αὐτή τοὺς αίχμαλώτους προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν. 3 οί δ' Ιτυκαΐοι τους μέν ήτυχηκότας ήλέουν, πλείονι δε λόγον της των απάντων ελευθερίας ή της εκείνων σωτηρίας ποιούμενοι διέλαβον τὰ τείχη τοῖς στρατιώταις και την πολιορκίαν εθγενώς υπέμενον. 4 είθ' ὁ μὲν 'Αγαθοκλής ἐπιστήσας τῆ μηχανή τούς τε όξυβελείς και σφενδονήτας και τοξότας από ταύτης άγωνιζόμενος ήρχετο της πολιορκίας καί. ταίς ψυγαίς των ενδον ώσπερ καυτήριά τινα προσ-

1 76 Siásqua added by Rhodoman.

2 ispaining or MSS., or transferred by Dindorf.

διά τό . . . ebaι cultors : διά τὸ μὴ τέλειον αὐτὸν εὐχαιτίαν είναι Γ, ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λίαν αὐ. εὐ. εἰ. Pischer.

¹ Cp. Aelian, Var. Hist. 11.4. For a similar reason Julius 290

BOOK XX, 54, 1-4

51. When Agathoeles heard that the princes whom \$07 a.c. we have just mentioned had assumed the diadem, since he thought that neither in power nor in territory nor in deeds was he inferior to them, he called himself king. He decided not to take a diadem: for he habitually wore a chaplet, which at the time when he seized the tyranny was his because of some priesthood and which he did not give up while he was struggling to gain the supreme power. But some say that he originally had made it his habit to wear this because he did not have a good head of bair. However this may be, in his desire to do something worthy of this title, he made a campaign against the people of Utica, who had deserted him.2 Making a sudden attack upon their city and taking prisoner those of the citizens who were caught in the open country to the number of three hundred, he at first offered a free pardon and requested the surrender of the city; but when those in the city did not heed his offer, he constructed a siege engine, hung the prisoners upon it, and brought it up to the walls. The Uticans pitied the unfortunate men; yet, holding the liberty of all of more account than the safety of these, they assigned posts on the walls to the soldiers and bravely awaited the assault. Then Agathoeles, placing upon the engine his catapults, slingers, and bowmen, and fighting from this, began the assault, applying, as it were, branding-irons to the souls of

Caesar welcomed the right to wear a laurel wreath (Suctionius, Dirus Indius, 45, 2).

Probably a movable tower like the "helepolis" of chap.

48. 9.

^{*} But, according to Polybius, t. 82. 8, Utica and Hippu Acra (cp. chap. 55, 3) were the only cities that had remained true to Carthage.

5 ήγεν οί δ' έπὶ των τειχών έστωτες το μέν πρώτον ωκνουν τοις βέλεσι χρήσασθαι, προκειμένων αὐτοις σκοπών πολιτικών ανδρών, ών ήσαν τινες και τών επιφανεστάτων επικειμένων δε των πολεμίων βαρύτερου ήναγκάζουτο τούς έπὶ τῆς μηχανῆς όντας ο αμύνεσθαι. ένθα δή συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι παράλογα πάθη τοις Ίτυκαίοις και τύχης έπηρεασμου έν ανάγκαις κειμένοις ανεκφεύκτοις προβεβλημένων γάρ των Ελλήνων τους ήλωκότας των έξ 'Ιτύκης αναγκαΐον ήν ή τούτων φειδομένους περιοράν ύποχείριον τοις πολεμίοις γινομένην την πατρίδα ή τή πόλει βοηθούντας άνηλεως φονεύσαι πλήθος πολί-7 των ήτυχηκότων. ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι άμυνόμενοι γάρ τους πολεμίους και παντοίοις βέλεσι γρώμενοι καί τινας των έφεστηκότων τη μηχανή κατηκύντισαν καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν κρεμαμένων πολιτῶν σώματα κατηκίσαντο, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀξυβελέσι πρὸς τῆ μηχανή προσκαθήλωσαν καθ' ους ποτε τύχοι τοῦ σώματος τόπους, ώστε σταυρώ παραπλησίων είναι την υβριν άμα και την τιμωρίαν. και ταυτ' εγίνετό τισιν ύπο συγγενών η φίλων, εί τύχοι, της άνάνκης οὺ πολυπραγμονούσης τι τῶν παρ' άνθρώποις οσίων.

55. 'Ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής, όρων αὐτοὺς ἀπαθώς ώρμηκότας πρός τὸν κίνδυνον, περιστήσας πανταχόθεν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ κατά τινα τόπον φαύλως ψκοδομημένον βιασάμενος εἰσέπεσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 2 τῶν δ' Ἰτυκαίων τῶν μὲν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, τῶν δ' εἰς

1 κειμένοις άνεκφεύκτοις livinke : κείμενον ανέκφευκτον.

τινας των έφ. τῷ μη. κατηκόντισαν καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν κρ. πολ. σώματα κατηκίσαντο, τὰ ίτεν : τὰ τῶν ἐφ. τἢ μη. σώματα κατηκίσαντο καὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν κρ. πολ. κατηκόντισαν, τινὰς.

those within the city. Those standing on the walls 307 Me. at first hesitated to use their missiles since the targets presented to them were their own fellow-countrymen, of whom some were indeed the most distinguished of their citizens; but when the enemy pressed on ' more heavily, they were forced to defend themselves against those who manned the engine. As a result there came unparalleled suffering and despiteful treatment of fortune to the men of Utien, placed as they were in dire straits from which there was no escape; for since the Greeks had set up before them. as shields the men of Utica who had been captured, it was necessary either to spare these and idly watch the fatherland fall into the hands of the enemy or, in protecting the city, to slaughter mercilessly a large number of unfortunate fellow citizens. And this, indeed, is what took place; for as they resisted the enemy and employed missiles of every kind, they shot down some of the men who were stationed on the engine, and they also mangled some of their fellow citizens who were hanging there, and others they nailed to the engine with their bolts at whatever places on the body the missiles chanced to strike, so that the wanton violence and the punishment almost amounted to crucifixion. And this fate befell some at the hands of kinsmen and friends, if so it chanced, since necessity is not curiously concerned for what is holy among men.

55. But when Agathocles saw that they were coldbloodedly intent on fighting, he put his army in position to attack from every side and, forcing an entrance at a point where the wall had been poorly constructed, broke into the city. As some of the Uticans fled into their houses, others into temples.

ίερα καταφευγόντων δι' όργης αὐτούς έχων φόνου την πόλιν επλήρωσε. τους μεν γάρ εν χειρών νόμω διέφθειρε, τους δ' άλόντας εκπέμασε, τους δ' έπὶ θεών ίερα και βωμούς καταφυγόντας διαψευσθήναι 3 της έλπίδος εποίησεν. διαφορήσας δε τὰς κτήσεις καί φυλακήν απολιπών έπι της πόλεως έστρατοπέδευσεν επί την "Ιππου καλουμένην άκραν, ώχυρωμένην φυσικώς τή παρακειμένη λίμνη. πυλιορκήσας δε αυτήν ένεργως και των εγχωρίων ναυμαχία περιγενόμενος κατά κράτος είλε. τούτω δε τω τρόπω τας πόλεις χειρωσήμενος των τε έπι θαλάττη τόπων των πλείστων έκυρίουσεν και τών την μεσόγειον οἰκούντων πλήν των Νομάδων των τινές μέν φιλίαν πρός αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο, τινές δ' 4 έκαραδόκουν την των όλων κρίσιν, τέτταρα γάρ την Λιβύην διείληφε γένη, Φοίνικες μέν οι την Καρχηδόνα τότε κατοικούντες, Λιβυφυίνικες δέ πολλάς έχοντες πόλεις επιθαλαττίους και κοινωνούντες τοις Καρχηδονίοις έπιγαμίας, οίς από της συμπεπλεγμένης συγγενείας συνέβη τυχείν ταύτης της προσηγορίας ό δὲ πολύς λαὸς τῶν ἐγχωρίων, άρχαιότατος ών, Λίβυς ωνομάζετο, μισών διαφερόντως τους Καρχηδονίους διά το βάρος της επιστασίας οί δε τελευταίοι Νομάδες ύπηρχοι, πολλήν της Λιβύης νεμόμενοι μέχρι της ερήμου. 5 'Αγαθοκλής δέ τοις μέν κατά Λιβύην συμμάχοις καί ταις δυνάμεσιν ύπερέχων των Καρχηδονίων, περί δε των εν Σικελία πραγμάτων αγωνιών άφρακτα καὶ πεντηκοντόρους ναυπηγησάμενος έν-

Literally, "The citudel of the horse" or "The cape of the horse," identified with Hippos Diarrhytus, the modern 294

Agathoeles, enraged as he was against them, filled 307 no. the city with slaughter. Some he killed in hand-tohand fighting; those who were captured he hanged, and those who had fled to temples and altars of the gods he cheated of their hopes. When he had sacked the movable property, he left a garrison in possession of the city, and led his army into position against the place called Hippu Acra, which was made naturally strong by the marsh that lay before it. After laying siege to this with vigour and getting the better of its people in a naval battle, he took it by storm. When he had conquered the cities in this way, he became master both of most of the places along the sea and of the peoples dwelling in the interior except the Nomads, of whom some arrived at terms of friendship with him and some awaited the final issue. For four stocks have divided Libya: the Phoenicians, who at that time occupied Carthage; the Libyphoenicians, who have many cities along the sea and intermarry with the Carthaginians, and who received this name as a result of the interwoven ties of kinship. Of the inhabitants the race that was most numerous and oldest was called Libyan, and they hated the Carthaginians with a special bitterness because of the weight of their overlordship; and last were the Nomads, who pastured their herds over a large part of Libya as far as the desert.

Now that Agathocles was superior to the Carthaginians by reason of his Libyan allies and his own armies but was much troubled about the situation in Sielly, he constructed light ships and penteconters

Biserté; cp. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 5. 1. 195, note 2. Here Agathoeles gathered material for the construction of his fleet, Applan, African Wars, 110.

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εβίβασε στρατιώτας δισχιλίους. καταλιπών δε τῶν εν τῆ Λιβύη πραγμάτων στρατηγον 'Λγάθαρχον τὸν υίδν ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσά, ἐπὶ Σικελίαν τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος.

56. "Αμα δέ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ξενόδοκος ό των 'Ακραγαντίνων στρατηγός πολλάς μέν τών πόλεων ήλευθερωκώς, έλπίδας δε μεγάλας παρεσχηκώς τοίς Σικελιώταις της καθ' όλην την νήσον αύτονομίας εξήγαγε την δύναμιν έπι τούς 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατηγούς, ούσαν πεζών μέν πλειόνων ή μυρίων, 2 ίππέων δὸ σχεδον χιλίων. οί δὶ περί Λεπτίνην καί Δημόφιλον έκ των Συρακουσσών και των Φρυυρίων επιλέξαντες δσους ηδύναντο πλείστους άντεστρατοπέδευσαν πεζοίς μέν όκτακισχιλίοις και διακοσίοις, ίππεθσι δε χιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις. γενομένης οθν παρατάξεως ισχυράς ήττηθείς ο Ξενόδοκος έψυγεν είς τον 'Ακράγαντα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν απέβαλεν ούκ ελάττους των χιλίων και πεντικο-3 σίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν ᾿Ακραγαντίνοι ταύτη τῆ συμφορῷ περιπεσόντες διέλυσαν έαυτών μέν την καλλίστην επιβολήν, των δε συμμάχων τὰς τῆς ελευθερίας έλπίδας. 'Αγαθοκλής δε τής μάχης άρτι γεγειημένης καταπλεύσας της Σικελίας είς Σελινούντα 'Ηρακλεώτας μεν ηλευθερωκότας την πόλιν ηνάγκασε πάλιν υποτάττεσθαι, παρελθών δε επί θάτερον μέρος της νήσου Θερμίτας μέν προσαγαγύμενος ύποσπόνδους άφηκε των Καρχηδονίων τους φρουρούντας* ταύτην την πόλιν, Κεφαλοίδιον δέ έκπολιορκήσας Λεπτίνην μέν ταύτης επιμελητήν

¹ δσους ήδύναντο πλείστους Dindorf: οῦς ήδύναντο πλείους.

BOOK XX, 55, 5-56, 3

and placed upon them two thousand soldiers. Leaving 307 B.C. his son Agatharchus 2 in command of affairs in Libya, he put out with his ships and made the voyage to

Sielly.

56. While this was happening, Xenodoeus,3 the general of the Aeragantines, having freed many of the cities and roused in the Sicilians great hopes of autonomy throughout the whole island, led his army against the generals of Agathoeles. It consisted of more than ten thousand foot-soldiers and nearly Leptines and Demophilus, a thousand horsemen. assembling from Syracuse and the fortresses as many men as they could, took up a position opposite him with eighty-two hundred foot-soldiers and twelve hundred horse. In a bitter fight that ensued, Xenodocus was defeated and fled to Acragas, losing not less than fifteen hundred of his soldiers. The people of Acragas after meeting with this reverse put an end to their own most noble enterprise and, at the same time, to their allies' hopes of freedom. Shortly after this battle had taken place, Agathoeles put in at Selinus in Sicily and forced the people of Heraclea, who had made their city free, to submit to him once more. Having crossed to the other side of the island, he attached to himself by a treaty the people of Therma, granting safe conduct to the Carthaginian Then, after taking Cephaloedium and garrison. leaving Leptines as its governor, he himself marched

* Usually called Archagathus, cp. chap. 11. 1, and note.

3 Cp. chap. 31. 4.

¹ The fleet was constructed at Hippu Acra, cp. Appian. African Wars, 110.

^{*} τοὺς φρουρούντας Reiske, Madvig; approved by Fischer in apparatus: φρουρούντων.

απέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπεβάλετο μὲν νυκτὸς εἰς τὰ Κεντόριπα παρεισπεσεῖν εἰσδεχομένων αὐπόν τινων πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν, καταφανοῦς δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς γενομένης καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν παραβοηθησάντων ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποβαλὼν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλείους ἐπεντακοσίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά τινων ἐκ τῆς ᾿Λπολλωνίας μεταπεμπομένων αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδια προδώσειν ἐπαγγελλομένων ἡκε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν δὲ προδοτῶν καταφανῶν γενομένων καὶ κολασθέντων κατὰ μὲν πρώτην ἡμέρων πολιορκήσως ἄπρακτος ἐγένετο, τῆ δ᾽ ὑστεραία πολλὰ κακυπαθήσως καὶ συχνοὺς ἀποβαλὼν μόλις εἶλε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν ᾿Λπολλωνιατῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀποσφάξας διήρπασε τὰς κτήσεις.

57. Τούτου δὶ περὶ ταῦτ' ὅντος Δεινοκράτης ὁ τῶν φυγάδων ἡγούμενος ἀναλαβῶν τὴν ᾿Λκραγαιτίνων προαίρεσιν καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἀναδείξας τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐποίησε πολλοὺς ἀπανταχόθεν 2 συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον πᾶσιν ἐπιθυμέαν τῆς αὐτονομίας, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸν ᾿Λγαθοκλέους φόβον προθύμως ὑπήκουον τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις. ἡθροισμένων δ' αὐτῷ πεζῶν μὲν οὐ πολὺ ἐλάττων δισμυρίων, ἱππέων δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων καὶ πάντων τούτων ἐν φυγαῖς καὶ μελέταις τοῦ πονεῖν συνεχῶς γεγονότων κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ὑπαίθρω, προκαλούμενος τῆ μάχη 3 τὸν δυνάστην. τοῦ δ' ᾿Αγαθοκλίους λειπομένου πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ φυγομαχοῦντος ἐκ ποδὸς ἡκολούθει συνεχῶς, ἀκονητὶ περιπεποιημένος τὴν νίκην.

'Από δε τούτων των καιρών τοις περί τον 'Αγα-

through the interior and attempted to slip by night 307 kc. into Centoripa, where some of the citizens were to admit him. When their plan was discovered, however, and the guard came to the defence, he was thrown out of the city, losing more than five hundred of his soldiers. Thereupon, men from Apollonia having invited him and promised to betray their fatherland, he came to that city. As the traitors had become known and had been panished, he attacked the city but without effect for the first day, and on the next, after suffering heavily and losing a large number of men, he barely succeeded in taking it. After slaughtering most of the Apolloniates, he plundered their possessions.

57. While Agathocles was engaged on these matters, Deinocrates, the leader of the exiles, taking over the policy of the Acragantines and proclaiming himself champion of the common liberty, caused many to flock to him from all sides; for some eagerly gave ear to his appeals because of the desire for independence inborn in all men, and others because of their fear of Agathocles. When Deinocrates had collected almost twenty thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred mounted men, all of them men who had had uninterrupted experience of exile and hardship, he camped in the open, challenging the tyrant to battle. However, when Agathocles, who was far inferior in strength, avoided battle, he steadily followed on his heels, having seenred his victory without a struggle.

From this time on the fortunes of Agathocles, not

¹ abra Dindorf : airav.

DIODORUS OF SIGHA

θοκλέα συνέβαινε πρός το χείρον μεταβάλλειν οὐ ιμόνον τὰ κατὰ Σικελίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Λιβύην ε πράγματα. 'Αργάναθος γάρ ο καταλειφθείς ύπ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγός μετὰ τὴν ἀναγωγὴν τοῦ πατρός τὸ μέν πρώτον επλεονέκτει, πέμψας είς τούς άνω τόπους μέρος τι της δυνάμεως, ης ην ήγεμων Ευμαχος. ούτος γάρ Τώκας πόλιν εθμεγέθη χειρωσάμενος πολλούς προσηγάγετο των πλησίον κατοικούντων 5 Νομάδων. εΙθ' έτέραν έκπολιορκήσας, την ονομαζομένην Φελλίνην, ηνάγκασε πειθαργείν τους την έξης χώραν νεμομένους, τούς καλουμένους 'Ασφοδελώδεις, όντας τῷ χρώματι παραπλησίους τοῖς δ Αλθίοψι. τρίτην δ' είλε Μεσχέλαν, μεγίστην οδσαν, ωκισμένην δε το παλαιον ύπο των έκ Τροίας άνακομιζομένων Ελλήνων, περί ών εν τη τρίτη βίβλω προειρήκαμεν, έξης δε την ονομαζομένην άκραν Ίππου την όμωνυμον τη χειρωθείση κατά κράτος ύπ' Αγαθοκλέους και τελευταίαν την προσαγυρευσμένην 'Ακρίδα πόλιν αὐτύνομον, ήν έξανδραποδισάμενος εξέδωκε τοις στρατιώταις διαρπάσαι. 58. 'Εμπλήσας δ' ωφελείας το στρατύπεδον κατέβη πρός τους περί τον 'Αρχάγαθον και δόξας άγαθος άνηρ γεγονέναι πάλιν έστράτευσεν είς τους άνω της Λιβύης τόπους. ύπερβαλών δε τας πόλεις

ών πρότερον εγεγόνει κύριος, παρεισέπεσεν είς την καλουμένην Μιλτινήν πόλιν, απροσδοκήτως έπι-2 φανείς συστραφέντων δ' επ' αὐτόν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ κρατησάντων εν ταις όδοις έξεβλήθη παραλόγως καὶ πολλούς των στρατιωτών ἀπέβαλεν. ἐντεύθεν

1 The name means " like the asphodel."

² There is nothing about this incident in Book 3; and

only in Sicily but also in Libya, suffered a change for BUT N.C. the worse. Archagathus, who had been left by him as general, after the departure of his father at first gained some advantage by sending into the inland regions a part of the army under the command of Eumachus. This leader, after taking the rather large city of Tocac, won over many of the Nomads who dwelt near by. Then, capturing another city called Phelline, he forced the submission of those who used the adjacent country as pasture, men called the Asphodelodes, who are similar to the Ethiopians in colour. The third city that he took was Meschela, which was very large and had been founded long ago by the Greeks who were returning from Troy, about whom we have already spoken in the third Book.2 Next he took the place called Hippu Acra, which has the same name as that captured by storm by Agathoeles,3 and finally the free city called Acris, which he gave to his soldiers for plundering after he had enslaved the people.4

58. After sating his army with booty, he returned to Archagathus; and since he had gained a name for good service, he again led an army into the inland regions of Libya. Passing by the cities that he had previously mastered, he gained an entrance into the city called Miltine, having appeared before it without warning; but when the barbarians gathered together against him and overpowered him in the streets, he was, to his great surprise, driven out and lost many of his men. Departing thence, he marched through

chronologically it belongs in Book 7, of which only fragments are extant; cp. Vol. III, pp. 358-359.

² Cp. chap. 55. S.

⁴ None of the cities or peoples mentioned in this paragraph can be identified with certainty.

δ' άναζεύξας προήγεν δι' όρους ύψηλου παρήκοντος έπὶ σταδίους διακοσίους, πλήρους δ' όντος αίλούρων. έν ώ συνέβαινε μηδέν όλως πηριού νεοττεύειν μήτε έπὶ τοῖς δένδρεσι μήτε ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι διὰ τὴν Ι άλλοτριότητα των προειρημένων ζώων. διελθών δε την ορεινήν ταύτην ενέβαλεν είς χώραν εχουσαν πλήθος πιθήκων και πόλεις τρείς τας από τούτων των ζώων δυομαζομένας είς τον Ελληνικών τρώπου 4 της διαλέκτου μεθερμηνευομένας Πιθηκούσσας. έν δέ ταύταις οὐκ όλίγα τῶν νομίμων πολύ παρήλλαττε των παρ' ήμεν. τάς τε γάρ αὐτάς οἰκίας οί πίθηκοι κατώκουν τοις ανθρώποις, θεοί παρ' αὐτοις νομιζόμενοι καθάπερ παρ' Λίγυπτίοις οι κύνις. έκ τε των παρεσκευασμένων έν τοῖς ταμιείοις τὰ ζώα τὰς τροφάς ελάμβανον ἀκωλύτως ὁπότε βούλοιντο. και τας προσηγορίας δ' ετίθεσαν οι γονείς τοις παισί κατά το πλείστον από των πιθήκων. ε ώσπερ παρ' ήμιν ἀπὸ των θεών. τοις δ' ἀποκτείνασι τούτο τὸ ζώον ώς ησεβηκόσι τὰ μέγιστα θάνατος ώριστο πρόστιμον διο δή και παρά τισιν ενίσχυσεν εν παροιμίας μέρει λεγόμενον επί τεθν άνατεί κτεινομένων ότι πιθήκου αξμ' αποτίσειαν. β δ' οὖν Εύμαχος μίαν μέν τούτων τῶν πόλεων έλων κατά κράτος διήρπασε, τάς δε δύο προσηγάγετο. πυνθανόμενος δέ τους περιοικούντας βαρβάρους άθροίζειν έπ' αὐτον μεγάλας δυνάμεις προήγε συντονώτερον, διεγνωκώς επανίζναι πρός τους επί θαλάττη τόπους.

59. Μέχρι μεν δη τούτων τῶν καιρῶν ἐν τῆ

¹ iv Reiske : inl.

a high mountain range that extended for about two por me. hundred stades 1 and was full of wildeats, 1 in which, accordingly, no birds whatever nested either among the trees or the ravines because of the rapacity of the aforementioned beasts. Crossing this range, he came out into a country containing a large number of apes and to three cities called from these beasts Pitheeusae, if the name is translated into the Greek language. In these cities many of the customs were very different from those current among us. For the anes lived in the same houses as the men, being regarded among them as gods, just as the dogs are among the Egyptians, and from the provisions laid up in the storerooms the beasts took their food without hindrance whenever they wished. Parents usually gave their children names taken from the apes, just as we do from the gods. For any who killed this animal, as if he had committed the greatest sacrilege, death was established as the penalty. For this reason, among some there was current a proverbial saying about those slain with impunity that they were paying the penalty for a monkey's blood. However this may be, Eumachus, after taking one of these cities by storm, destroyed it, but the other two he won over by persuasion. When, however, he heard that the neighbouring barbarians were collecting great forces against him, he pushed on more vigorously, having decided to go back to the regions by the sea.

59. Up to this time all the campaign in Libya had

4 Cp. Book 1, chap. 83. 1.

¹ About 23 miles.

^{1 ()}r " weasels."

[&]quot;Ape-cities"; ep. the Πιθηκούσω νήσου, "Ape Islands," off the coast of Campania (chap. 44. 7).

Λιβύη κατά νοθν απαντα τὰ πράγματα τοῦς περί τον 'Αργάγαθον ήν. μετά δε ταθτα τής γερουσίας έν Καρχηδόνι βουλευσαμένης περί τοῦ πολέμου καλώς έδοξε τοις συνέδροις τρία στρατόπεδα ποιήσαντας έκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπέμψαι, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς παραθαλαττίους πόλεις, τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον, 2 το δ' είς τους άνω τόπους. ενόμιζον γαρ τουτο πράξαυτες πρώτον μέν την πόλιν απαλλάξειν της πολιορκίας αμα δέ και της σιτοδείας πολλών γάρ και παντοδαπών όγλων συμπεφευγότων είς την Καργηδόνα συνέβαινε πάντων γεγονέναι σπάνιν, εξανηλωμένων ήδη των επιτηδείων από δε τής πολιορκίας οὐκ την κίνδυνος, άπροσίτου της πόλεως ούσης δια την από των τειχών και της θαλάττης 3 οχυρότητα: ἔπειθ' ὑπελάμβανον καὶ τοὺς συμμάγους διαμένειν μαλλον πλειόνων στρατοπέδων όντων έν υπαίθρω των παραβοηθούντων το δε μέγιστον, ήλπιζον και τους πολεμίους άναγκασθήσεσθαι μερίζειν τας δυνάμεις και μακράν αποσπάσθαι της Καρχηδόνος. απερ απαντα κατά την επίνοιαν αθ-4 των συνετελέσθη τρισμυρίων μέν γάρ στρατιωτών έκ της πόλεως έκπεμφθέντων οι καταλειπόμενοι εμφρουροι^{*} ούχ οίον ίκανα πρός αὐτάρκειαν είχου, άλλ' έκ περιουσίας έχρωντο δαψιλίσι πάσιν, οί τε σύμμαχοι τό πρό τοῦ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβον αναγκαζόμενοι προστίθεσθαι τοῦς πολεμίοις τότε πάλιν θαρρήσαντες ανέτρεχον είς την προυπάρχουσαν φιλίαν. 60. 'Ο δ' 'Αρχάγαθος όρων διειλημιμένην απασαν

60. 'Ο δ' 'Αρχάγαθος όρῶν διειλημμένην ἄπασαν τὴν Λιβύην πολεμίοις στρατοπέδοις καὶ αὐτὸς διεῖλε τὴν δύναμιν καὶ μέρος μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν

been satisfactory to Archagathus. But after this the sorror. senate in Carthage took good counsel about the warand the senators decided to form three armies and send them forth from the city, one against the cities of the coast, one into the midland regions, and one into the interior. They thought that if they did this they would in the first place relieve the city of the siege and at the same time of the scarcity of food; for since many people from all parts had taken refuge in Carthage, there had resulted a general scarcity, the supply of provisions being already exhausted, but there was no danger from the siege since the city was inaccessible because of the protection afforded by the walls and the sea. In the second place, they assumed that the allies would continue more loyal if there were more armies in the field aiding them. And, what was most important, they hoped that the enemy would be forced to divide his forces and to withdraw to a distance from Carthage. All of these nims were accomplished according to their purpose; for when thirty thousand soldiers had been sent out from the city, the men who were left behind as a garrison not only had enough to maintain themselves, but out of their abundance they enjoyed everything in profusion; and the allies, who hitherto, because of their fear of the enemy, were compelled to make terms with him, again gained courage and hastened to return to the formerly existing friendship.

60. When Archagathus saw that all Libya was being occupied in sections by hostile armies, he himself also divided his army; part he sent into the

1 dad Fischer: 6.

^{*} ξμήρουροι Madvig; ἐν τῆ πόλει Dindorf; εὐπόρως Pest; ξμποροι.

παραθαλάττιου, της δ' άλλης στρατιάς ην μέν Λίσχρίωνι παραδούς εξέπεμψεν, ής δ' αὐτος ήγεῖτο, καταλιπών την ίκανην φυλακήν επί τοῦ Τύνητος. 2 τοσούτων δε στρατοπέδων επί της χώρας πανταχή πλαζομένων και προσδοκωμένης έσεσθαι πραγμάτων όλοσχεροῦς μεταβολής απαντες ήγωνίων, 3 καραδοκούντες το τέλος των αποβησομένων. "Αννων μέν οδν ήγούμενος του κατά την μεσόγειον στρατοπέδου θείς ενέδραν τοις περί τον Λισχρίωνα και παραδόξως επιθέμενος άνειλε πεζούς μέν πλείους των τετρακισχιλίων, ίππεις δε περί διακοσίους, εν οίς ήν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγός τῶν δ' άλλων οι μέν ήλωσαν οι δέ διεσώθησαν πρώς 'Αρχάγαθον, απέχοντα σταδίους πεντακοσίους. 4 Ίμιλκων δ' έπι τους άνω τόπους στρατεύειν άποδειχθείς το μέν πρώτον έφήδρευε έν τινι πόλει προσδεχόμενος τον Εύμαχον, εφελκόμενον βαρύ το στρατύπεδον δια τας έκ των αλουσών πόλεων ε ώφελείας. μετά δε ταθτα των Ελλήνων εκταξάντων την δύναμιν καὶ προκαλουμένων είς μάγην 'Ιμίλκων μέρος μέν της στρατιάς κατέλιπε διεσκευασμένον έν τη πόλει, διακελευσάμενος, όταν αὐτὸς αναγωρή προσποιούμενος φεύγειν, ἐπεξελθεῖν τοις επιδιώκουσιν αυτός δε προαγαγών τους ήμισεις των στρατιωτών καὶ μικρόν πρό τῆς παρεμβολής συνάψας μάχην εύθύς έφευγεν ώς καταπεο πληγμένος. οι δέ περί τον Ευμαχον επαρθέντες τη νίκη και της τάξεως ούδεν φροντίσαντες εδίωκον καί τεθορυβημένως των υποχωρούντων έξήπτοντο.

coastal region, and of the rest of his forces he gave sor me. part to Aeschrion and sent him forth, and part he led himself, leaving an adequate garrison in Tunis. When so many armies were wandering everywhere in the country and when a decisive crisis in the campaign was expected, all anxiously awaited the final outcome. Now Ifanno, who commanded the army of the midland region, laid an ambush for Aeschrion and fell on him suddenly, slaying more than four thousand foot-soldiers and about two hundred mounted troops, among whom was the general himself; of the others some were captured and some escaped in safety to Archagathus, who was about five hundred stades distant.3 As for Himileo, who had been appointed to conduct the campaign into the interior, at first he rested in a certain city lying in wait for Eumachus, who was dragging along his army heavily loaded with the spoils from the captured cities. Then when the Greeks drew up their forces and challenged him to battle, Himileo left part of his army under arms in the city, giving them orders that, when he retired in pretended flight, they should burst out upon the pursuers. He himself, leading out half of his soldiers and joining battle a little distance in front of the encampment, at once took to flight as if panie-stricken. Eumachus' men, elated by their victory and giving no thought at all to their formation, followed, and in confusion pressed hard upon those who were withdrawing; but when

To be distinguished from the Hanno of chaps, 10, 1, and
 12. 3, who is now dead. Nothing further is known of this Hanno.

ör ran Holm: τŷ MSS., Fischer.
 προυδεχόμενος Reiske: πρός MSS., Fischer.

ἄφνω δὲ καθ' ἔτερον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐκχυθείσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατεσκευασμένης καὶ πλήθους ἱκανοῦ πρὸς ἔν παρακέλευσμα συναλολάξαντος κατεπλά-7 γησαν. ἐμβαλόντων οὖν τῶν βαρβάρων εἰς ἀσυντάκτους καὶ πεφοβημένους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον, ταχὺ τροπὴν συνέβη γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὑποτεμομένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὴν εἰς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἀποχώρησιν τῶν πολεμίων ὴναγκάσθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὔμαχον καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πλησίον 8 λόφον ὕδατος σπανίζοντα. περιστρατοπεδευσάντων δὲ τὸν τόπον τῶν Φοινίκων ἄμα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δύμους καταπονηθέντες, ἄμα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κρατούμενοι σχεδὸν ἄπαντες ἀνηρέθησαν ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων τριάκοντα μόνον διεσώθησαν, ἀπὸ δ' ἱππέων ὀκτακοσίων τετταράκοντα διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον.

61. 'Ο δ' 'Αρχάγαθος τηλικαύτη συμφορά περιπεσών επανήλθεν είς Τύνητα. και των μεν εκπεμφθέντων στρατιωτών τούς περιλειπομένους μετεπέμπετο πανταχόθεν, είς δε την Σικελίαν εξέπεμψε τούς δηλώσοντας τῷ πατρί τὰ συμβεβηκότα καὶ παρακαλέσοντας βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. 2 τοῖς δὲ προγεγονόσιν ἀτυχημασιν ἐτέρα τοῖς "Ελλησιν έλαττωσις επεγένετο απέστησαν μέν γάρ άπ' αὐτῶν πλην ολίγων ἄπαντες οι σύμμαχοι, συνεστράφησαν δε αι των πολεμίων δυνάμεις και 3 πλησίου ποιησάμενοι παρεμβολάς εφήδρευον. 'Ιμίλκων μέν γάρ κατελάβετο τὰ στενά καὶ τῶν ἀπό της χώρας εκβολων απέκλευσε τους εναντίους. απέχοντας σταδίους έκατόν έκ δε θατέρου μέρους έστρατοπέδευσεν 'Ατάρβας από τεσσαράκοντα στα-4 δίων τοῦ Τύνητος. διόπερ τῶν πολεμίων οὐ μόνον 908

suddenly from another part of the city there poured 207 s.c. forth the army all ready for battle and when a great host shouted at a single command, they became panie-stricken. Accordingly, when the barbarians fell upon an enemy who had been thrown into disorder and frightened by the sudden onslaught, the Immediate result was the rout of the Greeks. Since the Carthaginians cut off the enemy's return to his camp, Eumachus was forced to withdraw to the nearby hill, which was ill supplied with water. When the Phoenicians invested the place, the Greeks, who had become weak from thirst and were being overpowered by the enemy, were almost all killed. In fact, of eight thousand foot-soldiers only thirty were saved, and of eight hundred horsemen forty escaped from the battle.

61. After meeting with so great a disaster Archagathus returned to Tunis. He summoned from all sides the survivors of the soldiers who had been sent out; and he sent messengers to Sicily to report to his father what had happened and to urge him to come to his aid with all possible speed. In addition to the preceding disasters, another loss befell the Greeks; for all their allies except a few deserted them, and the armies of the enemy gathered together and, pitching camp near by, lay in wait for them. Himileo occupied the passes and shut off his opponents, who were at a distance of a hundred stades, from the routes leading from the region; and on the other side Atarbas camped at a distance of forty stades * from Tunis. Therefore, since the enemy

About 111 miles.

* About 41 miles.

⁴ ἀκβολῶν Post: εἰσβολῶν.

της θαλάττης άλλα και της χώρας κυριευόντων, σιτοδεία τε συνέβαινε συνέχεσθαι τους "Ελληνας

και τῷ φόβω πάντοθεν κατείχοντο.

5 'Εν άθυμία δε δεινή πάντων όντων 'Αγαθοκλής ώς επύθετο τὰ κατὰ την Λιβύην ελαττώματα, παρευκευάσατο ναθς μακράς έπτακαίδεκα, διανουύμενος βοηθείν τοις περί τον 'Αρχάγαθον. και τών κατά Σικελίαν δε πραγμάτων επί το χείρου αὐτο μεταβεβληκότων δια το τους περί Δεινοκράτην φυγάδας ηθέησθαι έπὶ πλεΐον, τον μέν έν τη νήσω πόλεμον τοις περί Λεπτίνην στρατηγοίς ενεχείρισεν, αὐτός δὲ πληρώσας τὰς ναῦς ἐπετηρει τὸν τοῦ πλοῦ καιρόν, εφορμούντων των Καρχηδονίων τριίκοντα 6 ναυσί. καθ' ον δη χρόνον εκ Τυρρηνίας αὐτο κατέπλευσαν όκτωκαίδεκα ναθς έπι βυήθειαν, αξ διά νυκτός είς του λιμένα είσπεσούσαι τούς Καρχηδονίοις έλαθον. ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής ταύτης τυχών τής άφορμής κατεστρατήγησε τούς πολεμίους, τοίς μέν συμμάχοις μένειν παραγγείλας μέχρι αν αύτος έκπλεύσας επισπάσηται τους Φοίνικας πρός του διωγμόν, αὐτὸς δέ, καθάπερ ήν συντεθειμένος, ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος ἀνήχθη κατὰ απουδήν τοῖς έπτακαίδεκα 7 σκάφεσιν. είθ οί μεν εφορμυτντες εδίωκον, οί δε περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα κατανοήσαντες τους Γυρρηνούς παραφαινομένους έκ τοῦ λιμένος ἄφνω τας ναθε επέστρεψαν και καταστάντες είς εμβολήν διεναυμάχουν τοῖς βαρβάροις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διά τε το παράδοξον και δια το των πολεμίων είς μέσον απολαμβάνεσθαι τας ίδίας τριήρεις κατα-8 πλαγέντες έφυγον. είθ' οι μεν "Ελληνες πέντε νεών αὐτάνδρων ἐκυρίευσαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγός άλισκομένης ήδη της ναυαρχίδος άπ-310

controlled not only the sea but also the land, the wise.
Greeks both suffered from famine and were beset by

fear on every side.

While all were in deep despair, Agathocles, when he learned of the reverses in Libva, made ready seventeen warships intending to go to the aid of Archagathus. Although affairs in Sicily had also shifted to his disadvantage because of the increase in the strength of the exiles who followed Deinoerates, he entrusted the war on the island to Leptines as general; and he himself, manning his ships, watched for a chance to set sail, since the Carthaginians were blockading the harbour with thirty ships. Now at this very time eighteen ships arrived from Etruria as a reinforcement for him, slipping into the harbour at night without the knowledge of the Carthaginians, Gaining this resource, Agathocles outgeneralled his enemies; ordering the allies to remain until he should have sailed out and drawn the Carthaginians into the chase, he himself, just as he had planned, but to sea from the harbour at top speed with his seventeen ships. The ships on guard pursued, but Agathocles, on seeing the Etruscans appearing from the harbour, suddenly turned his ships, took position for ramming, and pitted his ships against the barbarians. The Carthaginians, terror-stricken by the surprise and because their own triremes were cut off between the enemy fleets, fled. Thereupon the Greeks captured five ships with their crews; and the commander of the Carthaginians, when his flagship was on the point of being captured, killed

¹ ve after rais omitted by Dindorf.

έσφαξεν έαυτόν, προκρίνας τον θάνατον της προσδοκηθείσης αλχμαλωσίας. οὐ μὴν ἐφάνη γε εὖ βεβουλευμένος ἡ γὰρ ναῦς φέροῦ πνεύματος ἐπιλαβομένη τοῦ δόλωνος ἀρθέντος ἐξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον.

62. 'Αγαθυκλής μέν οδυ οδδ' έλπίδας έχων του κατά θάλατταν περιέσεσθαί ποτς Καρχηδονίων ενίκησε ναυμαχία παραδόξως και το λυιπον θαλασσοκρατών παρείχετο τοις έμπόροις την ασφάλειαν. διόπερ οί Συρακόσιοι, πάντοθεν πρός αὐτούς κομιζομένης άγορας, άντι της των έπιτηδείων οπώνεως 2 ταχέως πάντων έσχον δαφίλειαν. ὁ δὲ δυνάστης μετεωρισθείς τω γεγονότι προτερήματι Λεπτίνην εξαπέστειλε λεηλατήσουτα την πολεμίαν και μάλιστα την 'Ακραγαντίνην. ο γαρ Ευνόδυκος διά την γεγενημένην ήτταν βλασφημούμενος ύπο του 3 αντιπολιτευομένων έστασίαζε προς αυτούς. παρήγγειλε μέν οὖν τῷ Λεπτίνη πειρασθαι πρικαλέσασθαι τον άνδρα προς μάχην ραδίως γάρ προτερήσειν ώς στασιαζούσης δυνάμεως και προηττημένης. ι όπερ και συνετελέσθη· ό μεν γάρ Λεπτίνης εμβαλών είς την 'Ακραγαντίνην την χώραν έδησυ, ό δέ Ξενόδοκος τὸ μέν πρώτον ήσυχίαν είχεν, οὐ νομίζων αύτον αξιόμαχον είναι, ονειδιζόμενος δε ύπο των πολιτών είς δειλίαν προήγαγε την στρατιών, τώ μεν άριθμώ βραχύ λειπομένην των εναντίων, τη δ' άρετη πολύ καταδεεστέραν οδισαν, ώς αν της μέν

¹ την before μάχην omitted by Hertlein.

¹ The 86ker was either a light spor that could be rigged at 312

himself, preferring death to the anticipated captivity. 107 no. But in truth he was shown by the event to have indeed anywight: for his ship caught a favouring

judged unwisely; for his ship caught a favouring wind, raised its jury mast 1 and fled from the battle.

62. Agathocles, who had no hope of ever getting the better of the Carthaginians on the sea, unexpectedly defeated them in a naval battle, and thereafter he ruled the sea and gave security to his merchants. For this reason the people of Syracuse, goods being brought to them from all sides, in place of searcity of provisions soon enjoyed an abundance of everything. The tyrant, encouraged by the success that had been won, dispatched Leptines to plunder the country of the enemy and, in particular, that of Acragas. For Xenodocus, vilified by his political opponents because of the defeat he had suffered,2 was at strife with them. Agathoeles therefore ordered Leptines to try to entice the man out to a battle; for, he said, it would be easy to defeat him since his army was seditious and had already been overcome. And indeed this was accomplished; for when Leptines entered the territory of Agragus and began plundering the land, Xenodocus at first kept quiet, not believing himself strong enough for battle; but when he was reproached by the citizens for cowardice, he led out his army, which in number fell little short of that of his opponents but in morale was far inferior since the citizen army had been formed

the prow of the warship, extending forward like a high bowsprit, or a square sall hung on a crossorm at the end of such a spar. We hear of this rig only on Phoenician and Roman craft. Since it could be set up more quickly than the ordinary mast, which was stowed before buttle, it seems often to have been used as here. Op. Livy, 36, 44, 3, 45, 1; 37, 30, 7; Polybius, 16, 15, 2.

πολιτικής εν ανέσει και σκιατροφία γεγενημένης, τής δ' εν αγραυλία και συνεχέσι στρατείαις γεσγυμνασμένης. διό και μάχης, γενομένης οι περι τον Λεπτίνην ταχύ τους 'Ακραγαντίνους τρεψάμενοι συνεδίωξαν είς την πόλιν έπεσον δ' επί της παρατάξεως τῶν ήττηθέντων πεζοι μέν περι πεντακοσίους, ίππεις δι πλείω τῶν πεντήκοντα. είθ' οι μεν 'Ακραγαντίνοι δυσφοροῦντες επί τοις ελαττώμασιν εν αιτίαις είχον τὸν Ξενύδοκον, τος δι' εκείνον δὶς ήττημένοι ο δε φοβηθείς τὰς επιφερομένας εὐθύνας και κρίσεις ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ι'έλαν.

63. 'Αγαθοκλής δε εν ημέραις ολίγαις και πεζή καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν νενικηκώς τοὺς πολεμίους εθυε τοις θεοις και λαμπράς υποδοχάς των φίλων έποιείτο. ἀπετίθετο δ' έν τοίς πότοις το τής τυραινίδος άξίωμα και των τυχόντων ίδιωτων ταπεινότερον έαυτον απεδείκνυιν, αμα μέν δια της τοιαύτης πολιτείας θηρώμενος την παρά των πολλών εύνουαν αμα δε διδούς εν τη μέθη καθ' αύτου παρρησίαν, ακριβώς κατενόει την έκαστου διάνοιαν, της άληθείας εκφερομένης απαρακαλύπτως διά του σίνου. 2 ύπάργων δε και φύσει γελωτοποιός και μίμος οὐδ' έν ταις έκκλησίαις άπείχετο του σκώπτειν τους καθημένους καί τινας αὐτών εἰκάζειν, ώστε τὸ πλήθος πολλάκις είς γέλωτα έκτρέπεσθαι καθάπερ τινά των ήθολόγων ή θαυματοποιών θεωρούντας. 3 δορυφορούμενος δε ύπο πλήθους είς τας εκκλησίας είσηει μόνος, ούχ όμοίως Διονυσίω τῷ τυράννω. ούτος γάρ έπὶ τοπούτον ἀπίστως διέκειτο πρός απαντας ώστε κατά μεν το πλείστον κομών καί πωγωνοτροφείν, όπως μή συναναγκασθή τω του κουρέως σιδήρω παραβαλείν τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη 314

amid indulgence and a sheltered way of life and the sorker had been trained in military service in the field and in constant campaigns. Therefore when battle was joined, Leptine's quickly routed the men of Acragas and pursued them into the city; and there fell in the battle on the side of the vanquished about five hundred foot soldiers and more than fifty horsemen. Then the people of Acragas, vexed over their disasters, brought charges against Xenodocus, saying that because of him they had twice been defeated; but he, fearing the impending investigation and

trial, departed to Gela.

63. Agathoeles, having within a few days defeated his enemies both on land and on sea, sacrificed to the gods and gave lavish entertainments for his friends. In his drinking bouts he used to put off the pomp of tyranny and to show bimself more humble than the ordinary citizens; and by seeking through a policy of this sort the goodwill of the multitude and at the same time giving men licence to speak against him in their cups he used to discover exactly the opinion of each, since through wine the truth is brought to light without concealment. Being by nature also a buffoon and a mimic, not even in the meetings of the assembly did he abstain from jeering at those who were present and from portraying certain of them, so that the common people would often break out into laughter as if they were watching one of the impersonators or conjurors. With a crowd serving as his bodyguard he used to enter the assembly unattended, unlike Dionysius the tyrant. latter was so distrustful of one and all that as a rule he let his hair and beard grow long so that he need not submit the most vital parts of his body to the

τοῦ σώματος εί δὲ καί ποτε χρεία γένοιτο τὴν κεφαλήν ἀποκείρασθαι, περιέκαε τὰς τρίχας, μίαν ασφάλειαν τυραννίδος αποφαιιώμενος την απιστίαν. 4 ο δ' οῦν 'Αγαθοκλης παρά τον πότον λαβών ρυτον μέγαν χρυσούν είπεν ώς οὐ πρότεμον ἀπέστη τῆς κεραμευτικής τέχνης έως τοιαθτα εκπισμάτων πλάσματα φιλοτεχνών εκεραμεύσατο, ού γάρ ειπηρνείτο την επιστημην, άλλα και τουναντίον έκαυχάτο, δια της ίδίας άρετης αποφαινόμενος άντί τοῦ ταπεινοτάτου βίου τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον μετειλη-5 θέναι. καί ποτε πολιορκούντος αὐτού τινα τών οὐκ ἀδόξων πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βοώντων "Κεραμεῦ καὶ καμινού, πότε τούς μισθούς αποδώσεις τοις στρατιώταις;" υπολαβών είπεν ο ""Όταν ταύτην έξελω." οὐ μήν άλλα διά την έν τοις πότοις εθτραπελίαν κατανοήσας των μεθυώντων τους άλλοτρίως τὰ πρός την δυναστείαν έχοντας παρέλαβεν αυτούς ποτε κατ' ιδίων πάλιν ζπί την έστίασιν και των άλλων Συρακοσίων τους μάλιστα πεφρονηματισμένους, του άριθμου πεντακοπίους όντας οίς περιστήσας των μαθυψύρων τούς εύ-7 θέτους απαυτας απέσφαζεν. σφόδρα γαρ ειλαβείτο μή χωριαθέντος αὐτοῦ εἰς Λιβύην καταλύσωπι την δυναστείαν, επικαλεσάμενοι τούς μετά Δεινοκράτους φυγάδας. τοῦτον δε τον τρόπον ασφαλισάμενος τὰ κατά τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξέπλουσεν ἐκ τῶν

64. Καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Λιβύην κατέλαβε τὰ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἀθυμία καὶ σπάνει πολλῆ· διόπερ κρίνων 316

Συρακουσσών.

BOOK XX, 63, 3-64, 1

steel of the barber; and if ever it became necessary sor n.c. for him to have his head trimmed, he singed off the locks, declaring that the only safety of a tyrant was distrust.1 Now Agathocles at the drinking bout, taking a great golden cup, said that he had not given up the potters' craft 2 until in his pursuit of art he had produced in pottery beakers of such workmanship as this. For he did not deny his trade but on the contrary used to boast of it, claiming that it was by his own ability that in place of the most lowly position in life he had secured the most exalted one. Once when he was besieging a certain not inglorious city and people from the wall shouted, "Potter and furnace-man, when will you pay your soldiers? " he said in answer. "When I have taken this city." a None the less, however, when through the jesting at drinking bouts he had discovered which of those who were flushed with wine were hostile to his tyranny he invited them individually on another occasion to a banquet, and also those of the other Syracusans who had become particularly presumptuous, in number about five hundred; and surrounding them with suitable men from his mercenaries he slaughtered them all. For he was taking very careful precautions lest, while he was absent in Libya, they should overthrow the tyranny and recall Deinocrates and the exiles. After he had made his rule secure in this way, he sailed from Syracuse.

64. When he arrived in Libya he found the army discouraged and in great want: deciding, therefore,

¹ Cp. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, 5, 20, 58,

^{*} Cp. Book 19, 2, 7,

³ Cp. Plutarch, Apophthegmata, p. 176. For the character of Agathoeles ep. Book 19, 9; Polybius, 9, 23, 2; 15, 35.

¹ For this second Libyan campaign ep. Justin, 22. 8. 4-15.

συμφέρειν διαγωνίζεσθαι παρεκάλεσε τούς στρατιώτας είς του κίνδυνου και προαγαγίου την δύναμιν έκτεταγμένην προεκαλείτο τους βαρβάρους είς 2 μάχην. είχε δὲ πεζούς μὲν τοὺς ἄπαντας ὑπολειπομένους "Ελληνας έξακισχιλίους, Κελτούς δέ καί Σαυνίτας και Τυρρηνούς τούτων ούκ ελάττους. Λίβυας δέ μικρον απολείποντας των μυρίων, ους εφέδρους είναι συνέβαινε, συμμεταβαλλομένους άς 3 τοίς καιροίς. χωρίς δε τούτων ήκολούθουν ίππείς χίλιοι πεντακόσιοι, ζεύγη δε Λιβύων πλείω τών έξακισχιλίων. οι δέ Καρχηδόνιοι κατεστρατυπςδευκότες επί των ύπερδεξίων και δυσπροσίτων διακινδυνεύειν μέν προς ανθρώπους απογανώσκουτας την σωτηρίαν ούκ εκρινον, μένοντις δ' έν τη παρεμβολή και πάντων εὐποροῦντες τή απάνει και τῶ χρόνω καταπολεμήσειν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤλπιζον.
1 ὁ δ ᾿ Αγαθοκλῆς οὐ δυνάμενος μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ πεδία προάγεσθαι, των δέ καιρών άναγκαζόντων τολμών τι και παραβάλλεσθαι την δύναμιν ήγαγεν έπί την τών βαρβάρων στρατοπεδείαν. ἐπεξελθόντων ούν των Καρχηδονίων και πολύ τω πλήθει και ταις δυσχωρίαις υπερεχόντων επί μέν τινα γράνον οί περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα διεκαρτέρουν πάντοθεν έκθλιβόμενοι, μετά δὲ ταῦτ' ἐνδόντων τῶν μισθοφόρων και των άλλων ήναγκάσθησαν άναγωρήσαι 5 πρός την στρατοπεδείαν. οι δε βάρβαροι βαρέως επικείμενοι τούς μεν Λίβυας παρηλλαττον ούδεν ένοχλούντες, ίνα την εύνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκκαλέπωνται, τούς δ' Ελληνας και μισθοφόρους γνωρίζοντες διά των οπλων εφόνευον, μέχρις ύτου συνεδίωξαν είς την παρεμβολήν.

Τότε μεν ουν ανηρέθησαν Αγαθοκλέους είς τρισ-

that it was best to fight a battle, he encouraged the sorme. soldiers for the fray and, after leading forth the army in battle array, challenged the barbarians to combat. As infantry he had all the surviving Greeks, six thousand in number, at least as many Celts, Samnites, and Etruscaus, and almost ten thousand Libyans, who, as it turned out, only sat and looked on, being always ready to change with changing conditions. In addition to these there followed him fifteen hundred horsemen and more than six thousand Libyan chariots. The Carthaginians, since they were encamped in high and inaccessible positions, decided not to risk a battle against men who had no thought of safety; but they hoped that, by remaining in their camp where they were plentifully supplied with everything, they would defeat their enemy by famine and the passage of time. But Agathoeles, since he could not lure them down to the plain and since his own situation forced him to do something daring and chance the result, led his army against the encampment of the barbarians. Then when the Carthaginians came out against him, even though they were far superior in number and had the advantage of the rough terrain, Agathorles held out for some time although hard pressed on every side; but afterwards, when his mercenaries and the others began to give way, he was forced to withdraw toward his camp. The barbarians, as they pressed forward stoutly, passed by the Libyans without molesting them in order to elicit their goodwill; but recognizing the Greeks and the mercenaries by their weapons, they continued to slay them until they had driven them into their own camp.

Now on this occasion about three thousand of

χιλίους κατά δε την επιούσαν νύκτα τὰς δυνάμεις άμφοτέρας συνέβη περιπεσείν παραλόγω τινὶ συμ-

φορά και πάσιν ανελπίστω.

65. Τών γάρ Καρχηδονίων μετά την νίκην τους καλλίστους των αίχμαλώτων θυύντων χαριστήρια νυκτός τοις θεοίς και πολλού πυρός τους ιεροκαυτουμένους άνδρας κατέχοντος έξαίψνης πνεύματος έπιπεσόντος συνέβη την Ιεράν σκηνήν αναφθήναι, πλησίου ούπαν του βωμού, από δέ ταύτης την στρατηγικήν και τὰς κατά τὸ συνεχές ούσας τῶν ήγεμόνων, ώστε πολλήν έκπληξω γενέσθαι καί φόβον κατά πάν το στρατύπεδον, τινές μέν γάρ τό πυρ έπιχειρούντες σβέσαι, τινές δέ τὰς πανυπλίας καί τὰ πολυτελέστατα των παρεσκευασμένων έκκομίζοντες ύπο της φλογός απελαμβάνωντο των γάρ σκηνών έκ καλύμου και χόρτου συγκειμένων καί του πυρός ύπο του πυεύματος βιαιότερου έκριπιαθέντος ή παρά των στρατιωτών βυήθεια κατ-2 εταχείτο. διό και της παρεμβυλής ταχύ πάσης φλεγομένης πολλοί μέν έν στεναίς ταις διόδοις άποληφθέντες ζώντες κατεκαύθησαν καὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς αίχμαλώτους ώμότητος παραχρήμα την κόλασιν ύπέσχου, αυτής της ασεβείας ίσην την τιμωρίαν πορισαμένης τοις δ' έκ της παρεμβολής έκπίπτουοι μετά θορύβου και κραυγής έτερος μείζων έπηκολούθησε κάνδυνυς.

66. Τών μέν γάρ 'Αγαθοκλεί συντεταγμένου Λιβύων εἰς πεντακισχιλίους ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων νυκτὸς ηὐτομόλουν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. τούτους δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμφθέντες ὡς ἔδον ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων προσάγοντας, νομίσαντες τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύναμιν ἄπασαν

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BOOK XX, 64, 5-66, 1

Agathocies' men were killed; but on the following 807 mc. night it so happened that each army was visited by

a strange and totally unexpected mishap.

65. While the Capthaginians after their victory were sacrificing the fairest of their captives as thankofferings to the gods by night, and while a great blaze enveloped the men who were being offered as victims, a sudden blast of wind struck them, with the result that the sacred but, which was near the altar, caught fire, and from this the but of the general caught and then the buts of the leaders, which were in line with it, so that great consternation and fear sprang up throughout the whole camp. Some were trapped by the conflagration while trying to put out the fire and others while carrying out their armour and the most valued of their possessions; for, since the huts were made of reeds and straw and the fire was foreibly fanned by the breeze, the aid brought by the soldiers came too late. Thus when almost the entire camp was in flames, many, eaught in the passages which were narrow, were burned abve and suffered due punishment on the spot for their cruelty to the captives, the impious act itself having brought about a punishment to match it; and as for those who dashed from the camp amid tumult and shouting, another greater danger awaited them.

66. As many as five thousand of the Libyans who had been taken into Agathocles' army had deserted the Greeks and were going over by night to the barbarians. When those who had been sent out as seouts saw these men coming toward the Carthaginian camp, believing that the whole army of the Greeks

¹ rås added by Reiske,

διεσκευασμένην επιέναι, ταχύ τοις στρατιώταις 2 εδήλωσαν την προσιούσαν δύναμιν. διαδοθέντος ούν πρός απαντας του λόγου βόρυβος ενέπιπτε καί προσδοκία της των πολεμίων εφόδου. εκάστου δέ την σωτηρίαν εν τη φυγή τιθεμένου, και μήτε παραγγέλματος δοθέντος ύπο των στρατηγών μήτε τάξεως ούσης μηδεμιάς οι φεύγοντες ενέπιπτον άλληλοις ων οί μεν δια το σκότος, οί δε διά την έκπληξιν άγνοούντες τούς ολκείους ώς πολιμίους 3 παύνοντο. πολλού δε φόνου γινομένου και της άγνοίας επικρατούσης οί μεν έν γειρών νόμω διεφθάρησαν, οί δ' εκπεπηδηκότες ανοπλοι και την φυγήν ποιούμενοι διά των δυσχωριών κατεκρημνίζοντο, της ψυχης επτοημένης διά τον απροσδόκητων φόβον. το δε τέλος πλειόνων ή πεντακισγιλίων άπολομένων το λοιπον πλήθος διεσιόθη προς την 4 Καρχηδόνα. οί δ' εν τη πόλει τότε μεν συνεξαπατηθέντες τη φήμη των ίδίων υπέλαβον ήττησθαι μάχη και της δυνάμεως το πλείστον διεφθάρθαι. διόπερ άγωνιωντες άνέωξαν τας πύλας και μετά θορύβου και πτοήσεως έδέχοντο τους στρατιώτας. φοβούμενοι μή τοις έσχάτοις οι πυλέμιοι συνεισπέσωσιν ήμέρας δε γενομένης μαθύντες τάληθες μόλις απελύθησαν της των δεινών προσδοκίας.

67. Οι δε περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα κατά τον αὐτον χρόνον δι' ἀπάτην καὶ προσδοκίαν ψευδη ταῖς δμοίαις περιέπεσον συμφοραῖς. τῶν γὰρ ἀποστατῶν Λιβύων μετὰ τὸν ἐμπυρισμὸν τῆς παρεμβολῆς καὶ τὸν γενόμενον θόρυβον οὐ τολμησάντων προτάγειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὐπίσω πάλιν ἐπανιόντων, τῶν

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was advancing ready for battle, they quickly reported on s.c. the approaching force to their fellow soldiers. When the report had been spread through the whole force. there arose tumult and dread of the enemy's attack. Each man placed his hope of safety in flight; since no order had been given by the commanders nor was there any formation, the fugitives kept running into each other. When some of them failed to recognize their friends because of the darkness and others because of fright, they fought against them as if they were enemies. A general slaughter took place; and while the misunderstanding still prevailed, some were slain in hand to hand fighting and others, who had sped away unarmed and were fleeing through the rough country, fell from cliffs, distraught in mind by the sudden panie. Finally after more than five thousand had perished, the rest of the multitude came safe to Carthage. But those in the city, who had also been deceived at that time by the report of their own people, supposed that they had been conquered in a battle and that the largest part of the army had been destroyed. Therefore in great anxiety they opened the city gates and with tumult and excitement received their soldiers, fearing lest with the last of them the enemy should burst in. When day broke, however, they learned the truth and were with difficulty freed from their expectation of disaster.

67. At this same time, however, Agathoeles by reason of deceit and mistaken expectation met with similar disaster. For the Libyans who had descrited did not dare go on after the burning of the camp and the tunualt that had arisen, but turned back again;

¹ Emilyar Fischer: elvar.

Ελλήνων τινές αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ δόξαντες την των Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν ηκειν άπηνγειλαν τοις περί του 'Λγαθοκλέα πλησίου υπάρχειν 2 το των πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, του δυνάστου δέ παραγγείλαντος είς ὅπλα χωρεῖν, ἐξέπιπτον ἐκ τῆς στρατοπεδείας οι στρατιώται μετά πολλού θορύβου. άμα δε της τε κατά την παρεμβολήν φλογός είς ύψος αρθείσης και της των Καχηδονίων κραυγής εξακούστου γινομώνης ύπελαβον προς αλήθειαν τούς βαρβάρους άπάση τη δυνάμει προσάγειν επ' αὐτυύς. 3 της δ' έκπλήξεως το βουλεύεσθαι παραιρουμένης ενέπεσε φόβος είς το στρατόπεδου και πάντες πρώς φυγήν ώρμησαν. είτα προσμιξάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Λιβύων και της νυκτός μείζονα την άγνοιαν φυλαττούσης οί περιτυγχάνοντες άλλήλους ώς πολεμίους 4 ήμύνοντο. όλην δέ την νύκτα πανταχή διασπειρομένων αὐτῶν καὶ πανικώ θορύβω συνεχυμένων συνέβη πλείους των τετρακισχιλίων αναιρεθήναι. επιγνωσθείσης δε μόγις της άληθείας οι διασωθέντες επανηλθον είς την παρεμβολήν. αλ μεν ούν δυνάμεις αμφότεραι τον είρημίνου τρόπου ήτύχησαν, εξαπατηθείσαι κατά την παροιμίαν τοῖς κενοῖς τοῦ

68. 'Αγαθοκλής δέ, μετὰ τὴν γενομένην ἀτυχίων τῶν μὰν Λιβύων ἀπάντων ἀποστάντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τῆς δὲ ὑπολειπομένης δυνάμεως ἀδυνατούσης διαπολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διέγνω τὴν Λιβύην ἐκλιπεῖν. διακομίσαι δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐχ ὑπελάμβανεν δυνήσεσθαι διὰ τὸ μήτε πόρια παρεσκευάσθαι μήτε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπιτρέψαι ποτ' 2 ἄν θαλασσοκρατοῦντας. διαλύσεις δ' οὐκ ἐνόμιζε ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους, πολὺ προέχοντας ταῖς

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πολέμου.

and some of the Greeks, seeing them advancing and 307 ac. believing that the army of the Carthaginians had come, reported to Agathoeles that the enemy's forces were near at hand. The dynast gave the order to take up arms, and the soldiers rushed from the camp with great tumult. Since at the same time the fire in the Carthaginian camp blazed high and the shouting of the Carthaginians became audible, the Greeks believed that the barbarians were in very truth advancing against them with their whole army. Since their consternation prevented deliberation, panic fell upon the camp and all began to flee. Then as the Libyans mingled with them and the darkness fostered and increased their uncertainty, those who happened to meet fought each other as if they were enemies. They were scattered about everywhere throughout the whole night and were in the grip of panic fear, with the result that more than four thousand were killed. When the truth was at long last discovered, those who survived returned to their camp. Thus both armies met with disaster in the way described, being tricked, according to the proverb, by the empty alarms of war.1

68. Since after this misfortune the Libyans all deserted him and the army which remained was not strong enough to wage battle against the Carthaginians, Agathocles decided to leave Libya. But he did not believe that he would be able to transport his soldiers since he had not prepared any transports and the Carthaginians would never permit it while they controlled the sea. He did not expect that the barbarians would agree to a truce because they were

¹ Cp. chap. So. I, and note.

δυνάμεσι καὶ διαβεβαιουμένους ταῖς τῶν πρῶτον διαβάντων άπωλείαις αποτρέψαι τους άλλους έπι-3 τίθεσθαι τη Λιβύη. Εκρινέν οδικμετ' όλίγων λάθρα ποιήσασθαι την αναγωγήν και συνενεβίβασε τον νεώτερον των υίων 'Πρακλείδην τον γαρ 'Λργάγαθον εὐλαβεῖτο μήποτε συνών τῆ μητρυιά καὶ φύσει τολμηρός ων έπιβουλήν κατ' αύτοῦ συστήση. ό δ' Αρχάγαθος ύποπτεύσας αὐτοῦ την ἐπίνων παρετήρει του έκπλουν, διανοούμενος μηνθαπι τών ήνεμόνων τοις διακωλύσουσι την επιβολήν ήγειτο γάρ δεινον είναι το των μέν κινδύνων έπυτον προθύμως μετεσγηκέναι, προαγωνιζόμενον του πατρός καὶ τάδελφοῦ, τῆς δὲ σωτηρίας μόνον ἀποστερείσθαι, καταλειπόμενον έκδοτον τοίς πολεμίοις. 4 διὸ δή τοὺς περί τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα μέλλοιτας λάθρα τον απόπλουν ποιείσθαι νυκτός εμήνυσε τισι των ήγεμόνων. οί δε συνδραμόντες ου μόνον διεκώλυσαν, άλλά και τω πλήθει την ραδιουργίαν έξέθηκαν· έφ' ols οί στρατιώται περιαλγείς γενόμενοι συνελάβοντο τον δυνάστην και δήσαντες παρέδωκαν είς φυλακήν.

69. 'Αναρχίας οὖν γενομένης ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδω θόρυβος ἦν καὶ ταραχὴ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης διεδόθη λόγος ὡς πλησίον εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐμπεσούσης' δὲ πτόης καὶ φόβου πανικοῦ διεσκευασμένος ἔκαστος προῆγεν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς οὐδε-2 νὸς παραγγέλλοντος. καθ' ὑν δὴ χρόνον οἱ τὸν δυνάστην παραφυλάττοντες οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἄλλων ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ δόξαντες ὑπό τινων καλεῖσθαι

far superior in their armies and were determined by sur me. the destruction of those who had first come across to prevent others from attacking Libya. He decided, therefore, to make the return voyage with a few in secret, and he took on board with him the younger of his sons, Heracleides; for he was on his guard against Archagathus, lest at some time this son, who was on intimate terms with his step-mother and was bold by nature, should form a conspiracy against himself. Archagathus, however, suspecting his purpose watched for the sailing with care, being determined to reveal the plot to such of the leaders as would prevent the attempt; for he thought it monstrous that, although he had shared willingly in the battles, fighting in behalf of his father and brother, yet he alone should be deprived of a safe return and left behind as a victim to the enemy. He therefore disclosed to some of the leaders that Agathoeles was about to sail away in secret by night. These coming quickly together not only prevented this, but also revealed Agathocles' knavery to the rank and file; and the soldiers, becoming furious at this, seized the tyrant, bound him, and put him in custody.

69. Consequently, when discipline disappeared in the camp, there was turnelt and confusion, and as night came on word was spread abroad that the enemy was near. When fright and panic fear fell upon them, each man armed himself and rushed forth from the eneampment, no man giving orders. At this very time those who were guarding the tyrant, being no less frightened than the others and imagining that they were being summoned by somebody, hastily

¹ συνενεβίβασε Dindorf : συνεβίβασε. 2 έμπεσούσης Rhodoman : έκπεσούσης.

ταχέως έξηγον τον 'Αγαθοκλέα διειλημμένου δετὸ δὲ πλήθος ώς ίδεν, εἰς έλευν ἐτράπη και πάντες επεβόων αφείναι. ο δε λυθείς και μετ' ολίγων εμβάς είς το πορθμείον έλαθεν εκπλεύσας κατά την δύσιν της Πλειάδος χειμώνος όντος. ούτος μέν ούν της ίδίας σωτηρίας φραντίσας έγκατέλιπε τους υίους, ους οί στρατιώται τον δρασμόν ακούσαντες εθθύς απέσφαξαν, και στρατηγούς έξ ξαυτών ελόμενοι διελύθησαν πρός Καρχηδονίους, ώστε τὰς πόλεις ας είγον παραδούναι και λαβείν τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ τοὺς μέν αἰρουμένους μετά Καργηδονίων στρατεύειν κομίζεσθαι τούς πεί διδομένους μισθούς, τους δ' άλλους είς Σικελίαυ 4 διακομισθέντας λαβείν οίκητήριον Σολούντα. τών μέν οδν στρατιωτών οι πλείους έμμειναντες ταις συνθήκαις έτυχον των ομολογηθέντων δσοι δέ τας πόλεις διακατέχοντες άντειχον ταις παρ' 'Αγαθο-5 κλέους ελπίσιν, εξεπολιορκήθησαν κατά κράτος. ων οί Καρχηδόνιοι τους μεν ήγεμόνας άνεσταύρωσαν. τούς δ' άλλους δήσαντες πέδαις, ην δια τον πόλεμου εξηγρίωσαν χώραν, εξηνάγκαζον τοις ίδίοις πόνοις πάλιν έξημερούν.

Καρχηδόνιοι μέν οὖν ἔτος τέταρτον πολεμούμενοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκομίσαντο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

70. Τῆς δ' 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατείας εἰς Λιβύην ἐπισημήναιτ' ἄν τις τό τε παράδαξον καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ τέκνα γενομένην τιμωρίαν οδον τῆ θεία προνοία. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Σικελίας ἡττηθεὶς καὶ τὴν πλείστην

About November 1, 307 a.c.
* Cp. Polybius, 7, 2, 4.

brought out Agathocles bound with chains. When not not the common soldiers saw him they were moved to pity and all shouted to let him go. When released, he embarked on the fransport with a few followers and secretly sailed away, although this was in the winter at the season of the setting of the Pleiades.1 This man, then, concerned about his own safety, abandoned his sons, whom the soldiers at once slew when they learned of his escape *; and the soldiers selected generals from their own number and made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms; they were to give back the cities which they held and to receive three hundred talents, and those who chose to serve with the Carthaginians were to receive pay at the regular rates, and the others, when transported to Sicily, were to receive Solus as a dwellingplace. Now, most of the soldiers abided by the terms and received what had been agreed upon; but all those who continued to occupy the cities because they still clung to hopes of Agathoeles were attacked and taken by storm. Their leaders the Carthaginians erneified; the others they bound with fetters and forced them by their own labour to bring back again into cultivation the country they had laid waste during the war.

In this way, then, the Carthaginians recovered

their liberty in the fourth year of the war.

70. One might well draw attention both to the almost incredible elements in Agathocles' expedition to Libya and to the punishment that befell his children as if by divine providence. For although in Sicily he had been defeated and had lost the largest

A Carthaginian city on the north coast of Sicily about 12 miles east of Panormus.

της δυνάμεως απολέσας επί της Λιβύης μικρώ 2 μέρει τους προνενικηκότας κατεπολέμησεν. καί τας μέν έν τη Σικελία πόλεις απάσας αποβαλίον πρός Συρακούσσαις ἐπολιορκεῖτο, κατά δὲ τὴν Λιβύην πασών τών άλλων πόλεων έγκρατης γενόμενος είς πολιορκίαν κατέκλεισε τούς Καργηδονίους. της τύγης ώσπερ επίτηδες επιδεικνυμένης την 3 ίδίαν δύναμιν επί των απηλπισμένων. είς τηλικαύτην δ' ύπερογην ελθόντος αὐτοῦ και τον 'Οφέλλαν φοικύσαντος, όντα φίλον και ξίνου, φαιερίος έπεσημήνατο το δαιμόνιον ώς δια την είς τούτον παρανομίαν των ύστερον αὐτώ γεγενημένων το θετον! επιστήσαι του γάρ αὐτου μηνώς και της αὐτης ημέρας 'Οφέλλαν ανελών παρέλαβε την δύναμη καὶ πάλω τους υίους απολέσας απέβαλε το στρα-4 τόπεδον. και το πάντων ιδιώτατον, ο θεος ώσπερ αναθός νομοθέτης διπλην έλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ την κόλασιν. ένα γάρ φίλον άδίκως φονεύσας δυείν υίων έστερήθη, των μετ' 'Οφέλλα παραγενομένων προσενεγκάντων τὰς χείρας τοίς νεανίσκοις. ταῦτα μέν ούν ήμεν ειρήσθω πρός τούς καταφρονούντας των τοιούτων.

71. 'Ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής επειδή διεκομίσθη ταχέως
εκ τής Λιβύης είς την Σικελίαν, μεταπεμψάμενος
μέρος τής δυνάμεως παρήλθεν είς την των Λίγεσταίων πόλιν οὖσαν σύμμαχον. ἀπορούμενος δὲ
χρημάτων εἰσφέρειν ἡνάγκαζε τοὺς εὐπόρους τὸ
πλεῖον μέρος τής ὑπάρξεως, οὕσης τής πόλεως τότε
2 μυριάνδρου. πολλων δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτούντων
καὶ συντρεχόντων αἰτιασάμενος, τοὺς Αἰγεσταίους
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BOOK XX, 70, 1-71, 2

part of his army, in Libya with a small portion of 307 No. his forces he defeated those who had previously been And after he had lost all the cities in victorious. Sieily, he was besieged at Syracuse; but in Libya, after becoming master of all the other cities, he confined the Carthaginians by a siege, Fortune, as if of set purpose, displaying her peculiar power when a situation has become hopeless. After he had come to such a position of superiority and had murdered Ophellas 1 although he was a friend and a guest, the divine power clearly showed that it established through his impious acts against Ophellas a portent of that which later befell him; for in the same month and on the same day on which he murdered Ophellas and took his army, he caused the death of his own sons and lost his own army. And what is most peculiar of all, the god like a good lawgiver exacted a double punishment from him; for when he had unjustly slain one friend, he was deprived of two sons, those who had been with Ophellas laying violent hands upon the young men. Let these things, then, be said as our answer to those who scorn such matters.

71. When with all speed Agathocles had crossed from Libya into Sicily, he summoned a part of his army and went to the city of Segesta, which was an ally. Because he was in need of money, he forced the well-to-do to deliver to him the greater part of their property, the city at that time having a population of about ten thousand. Since many were angry at this and were holding meetings, he charged the

¹ Cp. chap. 42.

¹ The Burn Fischer.

επιβουλεύειν αὐτιῦ δειναίς περιέβαλε συμφοραίς την πόλιν τούς μεν γάρ αποριστάτους προαγαγών έκτός της πόλεως παρά του Σκάμανδρου ποταμόν απέσφαξεν, τους δε δοκούντας ούσίαν κεκτησθαι μείζονα βασανίζων ηνάγκαζε λέγειν οπόσα έχων τις τυγχάνει χρήματα, και τούς μεν αὐτῶν ἐτρόχιζε τούς δέ εἰς τούς καταπέλτας ἐνδεσμεύων κατετόξευεν, ενίοις δ' απτραγάλους προστιθείς βιαιότε-3 ρου δειναίς άλγηδόσι περιέβαλλεν. έξευρε δέ καί έτέραν τιμωρίαν έμφερη τω Φαλάριδος ταύρω κατεσκεύασε γάρ κλίνην χαλκήν άνθρωπίνου σώματος τύπον έχουσαν καὶ καθ' έκαστον μέρος κλεισὶ διειλημμένην, είς ταύτην δ' έναρμόζων τους βασανιζομένους υπέκαιε ζώντας, τούτω διαφερούσης της κατασκευής ταύτης παρά τον ταθρον, τώ και θεω-4 ρείσθαι τούς έν ταις ανάγκαις απολλυμένους. των δέ γυναικών των εύπορων τινών μέν καρκίνοις σιδηροίς τὰ σφυρά πιέζων συνέτεινε, τινών δὲ τούς τιτθούς απέτεμνεν, ταις δ' έγκύοις πλίνθους επί την οσφύν επιτιθείς το εμβρυον από του βάρους εξέθλιβεν. τούτω δε τῷ τρόπω τὰ χρήματα πώντα τοῦ τυράννου ζητούντος καὶ μεγάλου φόβου τὴν πόλιν ἐπέχουτος τινές μέν αύτους συγκατέκαυσαν δ ταις οικίαις, τινές δε άγχόνη το ζην εξέλιπον. ή μέν οὖν Αἴγςστα τυχοῦσα μιᾶς ήμέρας ἀτυχοῦς ήβηδον έθανατώθη. δ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής παρθένους μέν καὶ παίδας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διακομίσας ἀπέδοτο τοῖς Βρεττίοις, της δε πόλεως οὐδε την προσηγορίαν 332

people of Segesta with conspiring against him and 307 a.c. visited the city with terrible disasters. For instance, the poorest of the people he brought to a place outside the city beside the river Scamander and slaughtered them; but those who were believed to have more property he examined under torture and compelled each to tell him how much wealth he had; and some of them he broke on the wheel, others he placed bound in the catapults and shot forth, and by applying knucklehones with violence to some, he caused them severe pain.1 He also invented another torture similar to the bull of Phalaris; that is, he prepared a brazen bed that had the form of a haman body and was surrounded on every side by bars; on this he fixed those who were being tortured and roasted them alive, the contrivance being superior to the bull in this respect, that those who were perishing in anguish were visible. As for the wealthy women, he tortured some of them by crushing their ankles with iron pincers, he cut off the breasts of others, and by placing bricks on the lower part of the backs of those who were pregnant, he forced the expulsion of the foctus by the pressure. While the tyrant in this way was seeking all the wealth, great panic prevailed throughout the city, some burning themselves up along with their houses, and others gaining release from life by hanging. Thus Segesta. encountering a single day of disaster, suffered the loss of all her men from youth upward. Agathocles then took the maldens and children across to Italy and sold them to the Bruttians, leaving not even the name

It is possible that the dorpdyalor are whips studded with bits of bone. Cp. Lucian, Ass. 88; Pluturch, Moralia, 1187 c.

άπολιπών, άλλὰ Δικαιόπολιν μετονομάσας έδωκεν

οίκητήριον τοῖς αὐτομύλοις.

72. Ακούσας γάρ την των υίων αναίρεσιν καί δι' όργης έχων απαντας τους απολελειμμένους κατά Λιβύην επεμψε των φίλων τινάς els Συρακούσσας πρός "Αντανδρον τον άδελφον, διακελευσάμενος τούς των συστρατευσάντων επί Καρχηδόνα συγ-2 γενείς απαντας αποσφάξαι. ταχύ δε τούτου τλ προσταχθέν ποιήσαντος ποικιλιύτατον γενέσθαι συνέβη φόνον των προγεγονότων ου γάρ μάνον τούς ακμάζοντας ταις ήλικίαις άδελφους ή πατέρας η παίδας έξηγεν έπι του θάνατου, άλλα και πάππους καὶ τούτων, εὶ τύχοι, καὶ πατέρας περιόντας δογατογήρους και ταις όλαις αισθήσεοι διά τον χρόνον ήδη παραλελυμένους, έτι δε νηπίους παίδας εν άγκάλοις φερομένους και της επιφερομένης αὐτοῖς συμφορᾶς οὐδεμίαν αἴοθησιν λαμβάνοντας. ήγοντο' δε καί γυναίκες όσαι μετείχον ολκειότητος ή συγγενείας και καθόλου πας ό μέλλων τη καθ αύτον τιμωρία λύπην εμποιήσαι τοις επί της Λι-3 βύης ἀπολειφθεῖσι. πολλοῦ δὲ πλήθους καὶ παντοίου πρός την θάλατταν άχθέντος έπι την τιμωρίαν και των σφαγέων έφεστώτων δάκρυα και δεήσεις και θρήνος εγίνετο συμφορητός, ών μεν άνηλεως φονευομένων, ων δε έπὶ ταις των πλησίον συμφοραίς εκπληττομένων και διά το προσδοκώμενον ούδεν διαφερόντων ταις ψυχαίς των προαποθνη-

Hypero Dindorf: Hype.

¹ The name (lit. "Just City") is not found clsewhere.

BOOK XX, 71, 5-72, 3

of the city; but he changed the name to Dicacopolis 207 n.c.

and gave it as dwelling to the deserters.1

72. On hearing of the murder of his sons Aguthocles became curaged at all those who had been left behind in Libya, and sent some of his friends into Syracuse to Antander his brother, ordering him to put to death all the relatives of those who had taken part in the campaign against Carthage. Antander promptly carried out the order, there occurred the most elaborately devised massacre that had taken place up to this time; for not only did they drag out to death the brothers, fathers, and sons who were in the prime of manhood, but also the grandfathers, and even the fathers of these if such survived, men who lingered on in extreme old age and were already bereft of all their senses by lapse of time, as well as infant children borne in arms who had no consciousness whatever of the fate that was bearing down upon them. They also led away any women who were related by marriage or kinship, and in sum, every person whose punishment would bring orief to those who had been left in Libya. When a crowd, large and composed of all kinds of people, had been driven to the sea for punishment and when the executioners had taken their places beside them, weeping and prayers and wailing arose mingled together, as some of them were mercilessly slaughtered and others were stunned by the misfortunes of their neighbours and because of their own imminent fate were no better in spirit than those who were being

Segesta certainly recovered its name and became again a Carthaginian ally (Book 23, 10, 2), probably in 306 m.c., when all cities formerly belonging to Carthage were restored by Agathocks (chap. 79, 5).

4 Cp. chap. 4. 3.

4 σκόντων. το δε πάντων χαλεπώτατον, πολλών άναιρεθέντων και παρά τον αίγιαλον ερριμμένων των σωμάτων ούτς συγγενής ούδεις ούτε φίλος ετόλμα τινά κηδεύειν, φοβούμενος μη δόξη προσαγγέλλειν έαυτου μετέχοντα της εκείνων οἰκειότητος. 5 δια δέ το πληθος των φονευθίντων επί του κύματος συνέβη την θάλατταν έφ' ίκανον τόπον αίματι κραθείσαν πόρρωθεν διαφαίνειν την ύπερβολήν

της του πάθους ώμότητος.

73. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μέν ήρχε Κόρυιβος, εν 'Ρώμη δε την υπατον άργην παρέλαβον Κόμτος Μάρκιος και Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος. ἐπὶ δὰ τούτων 'Αντίγονος ὁ βασιλεύς, τελευτήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ νεωτέρου τῶν υἰῶν Φοίνικος, τούτον μέν βαπιλικώς εθαψε, τον δέ Δημήτριον έκ της Κύπρου μεταπεμβώμενος ήθροιζε τάς δυνάμεις είς την 'Αντιγονίαν. έκρινε δέ στρα-2 τεύειν επί την Αίγυπτον. αυτός μεν ούν του πεζού στρατεύματος άφηγούμενος προήγε διά της Κοίλης Συρίας, έχων πεζούς μεν πλείους των όκτακισμυρίων, ίππεις δε περί δκτακισχιλίους, ελέφαντας δε τρισί πλείους των ογδοήκοντα τῷ δε Δημητρίω παραδούς τον στόλον συνέταξε συμπαραπλείν άμα πορευομένη τῆ δυνάμει, παρεσκευασμένων νεών των άπασων μακρών μεν έκατον πεντήκοντα, πορίων δε στρατιωτικών έκατόν, εν οίς εκομίζετο 3 βελών πληθος. των δε κυβεριητών οἰομένουν δείν

1 Continued in chap. 77.

² Corochus was archon in 306/5. Livy, 9, 42, 10, gives the 336

put to death before them. And what was most 307 Becruel of all, when many had been slain and their bodies had been east out along the shore, neither kinsmen nor friendsdared pay the last rites to any. fearing lest he should seem to inform on himself as one who enjoyed intimacy with those who were dead. And because of the multitude of those who had been slain beside its waves, the sea, stained with blood over a great expanse, proclaimed afar the imequalled

savagery of this outrage.1

73. When this year had passed, Corochus became muce. archon in Athens, and in Rome Quintus Marcius and Publius Cornelius succeeded to the consulship. While these held office King Antigonus, the younger of whose sons, Phoenix," had died, buried this son with royal honours; and, after summoning Demetrius from Cyprus, he collected his forces in Antigonia.4 He had decided to make a campaign against Egypt. So he himself took command of the land army and advanced through Coele Syria with more than eighty thousand foot soldiers, about eight thousand horsemen, and eighty-three elephants. Giving the fleet to Demetrius, he ordered him to follow along the coast in contact with the army as it advanced. In all there had been made ready a hundred and fifty warships and a hundred transports in which a large stock of ordnance was being conveyed. When the pilots thought it necessary to heed the setting of the

consuls for 306 a.c. as P. Cornelius Arvina and Q. Marcius Tremulus. The Capitoline Fasti are fragmentary for a period of some 40 years beginning at this point.

3 An error by Diodorus or a copyist for Philip; cp. chap.

19. 5: Plutarch, Demetrina, 2. 1.

4 Continued from chap. 53. For the following campaign ep. Plutarch, Demetrius, 19, 1-9; Pausanias, 1, 6, 6.

απομένειν την της Πλειάδος δύσιν δοκοθσαν έσεσθαι μεθ' ήμέρας όκτω, τούτοις μεν επετίμησεν ώς κατορρωδούσι τους κινδύνους, αυτός δέ στρατοπεδεύων περί Γάζαν και σπεύδων φθάσαι την του Πτολεμαίου παρασκευήν τοίς μέν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δέχ' ήμερων έχειν επισύτισιν, επί δε ταίς καμήλοις ταίς αθροιαθείσαις ύπο των 'Αρά-Βων επέθηκε σίτου μυριάδας μεδίμνων τρισκαίδεκα και γόρτου πλήθος τοις τετράποσι τά τε βέλη κυμίζων τοῦς ζεύγεσι προήγε δια τής ερήμαν μετά κακοπαθείας διά το πολλούς είναι των τύπων τελματώδεις καὶ μάλιστα περί τὰ καλούμενα Βάραθρα. 7.1. () Εδέ περί τον Δημήτριον έκ της Γάζης εκπλεύσαντες περί μέσας νύκτας το μέν πρώτου εύδίας ούσης εφ' ήμέρας τινάς ταις ταχυναυτούσαις νουσίν ξουμούλκουν τὰ στρατιωτικά πόρια ξπειτα της Πλειάδος περικαταλαμβανούσης αὐτούς καὶ πνεύματος επιγενομένου βορίου συνέβη πολλά των τετρηρικών σκαφών ύπο του χειμώνος κατενεχθήναι παραβόλως επί πόλιν Ταφίαν, ούσαν δυσ-2 προσόρμιστον καὶ τεναγώδη. τῶν δὲ πλοίων τῶν κομιζόντων τὰ βέλη τὰ μεν ύπο του χειμώνος συγκλυσθέντα διεφθάρη, τα δ' επαλινδρόμησεν είς την Γάζαν τοις δε κρατίστοις των σκαφών βιασάμενοι 3 διέτειναν μέχρι τοῦ Κασίου. τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ μὲν Νείλου διέστηκεν οθ μακράν, άλίμενον δέ έστι καὶ κατά τας γειμερίους περιστάσεις απροσόρμιστον. διόπερ ηναγκάζουτο τὰς άγκύρας ἀφέντες ώς αν εν δυσί

1 ånopáven Fischer i ániðeir.

¹ About November 1.

^{*} Literally "Pits," a region of quicksands between the

Pleiades, which was expected to take place after 206 a c. eight days, Antigonus censured them as men afraid of danger; but he himself, since he was encamped at Gaza and was eager to forestall the preparations of Ptolemy, ordered his soldiers to provide themselves with ten days' rations, and loaded on the camels, which had been gathered together by the Arabs, one hundred and thirty thousand measures of grain and a good stock of fodder for the beasts; and, carrying his ordnance in waggons, he advanced through the wilderness with great hardship because many places in the region were swampy, particularly near the spot called Barathra.²

74. As for Demetrius, after setting sail from Gaza about midnight, since the weather at first was calm for several days, he had his transports towed by the swifter ships; then the setting of the Pleiades overtook them and a north wind arose, so that many of the quadricemes were driven dangerously by the storm to Raphia, a city which affords no anchorage and is surrounded by shoals. Of the ships that were carrying his ordnance, some were overwhelmed by the storm and destroyed, and others ran back to Gaza; but pressing on with the strongest of the ships he held his course as far as Casiam. This place is not very distant from the Nile, but it has no harbour and in the stormy season it is impossible to make a landing here. They were therefore compelled to

cast their anchors and ride the waves at a distance Sirbonian Lake and the Mediterranean. Cp. Books 1, 30, 1-9, and 16, 48, 4-5, for accounts of the dangers of this region.

a A day's march south of Gaza.

⁴ Probably at the westernend of the Sirbonian Lake. For the dangers from storms on this coast ep. Strabo, 16, 2, 26 (p. 758).

σταδίοις από της γης αποσαλεύειν, αμα πολλοίς περιεχόμενοι δεινοίς του μέν γαρ κλύδωνος ρηγνυμένου τραγύτερου εκινδύνευον αυτανδρα τὰ σκάφη συγκλυσθήναι, της δέ γης ούσης απροσορμίστου και πολεμίας ούτε ναθς ακινδύνως ήν προσπλείν ούτε τούς ανδρας προσυήξασβαι, το δε μέγιστον, έλελοίπει το είς πότον αύτοις ύδωρ, είς τοιαύτην τε σπάνιν κατεκλείσθησαν ώστε εί μίαν ήμέραν ό γειμών επέμεινεν, πάντες αν τω δώβει διεφθάρησαν. 4 έν άθυμία δ' ύντων απάντων και προσδοκωμένης ήδη της απωλείας το μέν πνεθμα κατέπαυσεν, ή δέ μετ' 'Αντιγόνου δύναμις καταντήσασα πλησίον ι του στόλου κατεπτρατοπέδευσεν. εκβιίντες υψι έκ των σκαφών και προσαναλαβύντες έαυτους έν τη στρατοπεδεία προσέμενον των νοών της αποσπασθείσας. διεφθάρη δ' εν τούτω τῶ σάλω τρία σκάφη των πεντηρικών, έξ ων ένιοι των ανδρών διενήξαντο πρός την γην. Επειτα 'Αντίγονος μέν προαγαγών την δύναμιν πλησίον τοῦ Νείλου κατεστρατυπέδευσεν, απέχων δύο σταδίους του ποταμού.

75. Πτολεμαΐος δὲ προκατειληφῶς τοὺς εὐκαιροτάτους τόπους ἀσφαλίσι φυλακαῖς ἀπέστειλέν
τινας ἐν τοῖς κοντωτοῖς, παρακελευσάμενος προσπλεῖν πλησίον τῆς ἐκβάσεως καὶ κηρύττειν ὅτι
δώσει τοῖς μεταβαλομένοις ἀπ' ᾿Λντιγόνου, τῶν
μὲν ἰδιωτῶν ἐκάστοις δύο μνᾶς, τοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἡγε2 μονίας τεταγμένοις τάλαντον. γενομένων οὖν τῶν
κηρυγμάτων τοιούτων ἐνέπεσέ τις ὁρμὴ πρὸς μετάθεσιν τοῖς μετ' ᾿Λντιγόνου μισθοφόροις, ἐν οἷς καὶ
τῶν ἡγεμόνων πλείους ῥέπειν συνέβαινε δι' αἰτίας
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of about two stades 1 from the land, where they were some. at once encompassed by many dangers; for since the surf was breaking rather heavily, there was danger that the ships would founder with their crews, and since the shore was harbourless and in enemy hands, the ships could neither approach without danger, nor could the men swim ashore, and what was worst of all, the water for drinking had given out and they were reduced to such straits that, if the storm had continued for a single day more, all would have perished of thirst. When all were in despair and already expecting death, the wind fell, and the army of Antigonus came up and camped near the fleet. They therefore left the ships and recuperated in the camp while waiting for those vessels that had become separated. In this exposure to the waves three of the quinqueremes were lost, but some of the men from these swam to the shore. Then Antigonus led his army nearer to the Nile and camped at a distance of two stades I from the river.

75. Ptolemy, who had occupied in advance the most strategic points with trustworthy garrisons, sent men in small boats, ordering them to approach the lauding-place and proclaim that he would pay a premium to any who deserted Antigonus, two minae to each of the ordinary soldiers and one talent to each man who had been assigned to a position of command. When proclamations to that effect had been made, an urge to change sides fell upon the mercenaries of Antigonus, and it transpired that many even of their officers were inclined for one reason or another

A little less than ‡ mile.

¹ τραχύτερου Rhudoman: ταχύτερου. 2 βέπειν Capps, <προθύμους> είναι Fischer: είναι.

3 τινάς είς τὸ μεταβολής ἐπιθυμεῖν. πολλών δὲ πρός αὐτὸν αὐτομολούντων ό μὲν 'Αντίγονος ἐπιστήσας τω χείλει του ποταμού τοξότας και σφενδονήτας και πολλά των δευβελικών τους προσπλέοντας έν τοίς κοιτωτοίς ανέστελλε των δ' αυτομολούντων συλλαβών τινας δεινώς ήκίσατο, βουλόμενος καταπλήξασθαι τους της όμοιας όρμης άντεχομένους. 4 και προσλαβών τα καθυστερούντα των σκαφών προσέπλευσεν έπὶ τὸ καλούμενον Υευδόστομον, ναμίζων ένταθθα δυνήσεσθαί τινας των στρατιωτών αποβιβάσαι. εύρων δε πρός αὐτῷ φυλακήν ἰσχυραν καί τοις τε δευβελέσι και τοις άλλοις παυτοίοις βέλεσιν άνειργόμενος απέπλευσε περικαταλαμβα-5 νούσης τυκτός. Επειτα παραγγείλας τοις κυβερνήταις ακολουθείν τη στρατηγίδι νηι προσέχοντας τώ λαμπτήρι προσέπλευσεν έπὶ το οτόμα τοῦ Νείλου τό καλούμενου Φατνιτικόυ ήμέρας δε γενομένης, έπειδή πολλαί των νεών απεπλανήθησαν, ήναγκάσθη ταύτας περιμένειν και τας μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσας των ηκολουθηκυιών εξαποστέλλειν έπλ την τούτων ζήτησιν.

76. Διόπερ χρόνου γενομένου πλείονος οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον πυθόμενοι τὸν κατάπλουν τῶν πολεμίων ἡκον ὀξέως βοηθήσοντες καὶ τὴν δύναμιν διασκευάσαντες ἔστησαν παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἀποτυχὼν καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐκβάσεως καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν παραλίαν ἀκούων ἔλεσι καὶ λίμναις ὡχυρῶσθαι φυσικῶς ἐπαλινδρόμει παντὶ 2 τῷ στόλῳ. εἰτ' ἐμπεσόντος βορέου λαμπροῦ καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος εἰς ὕψος αἰρομένου τρία μὲν σκάψη τῶν τετρηρικῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν πορίων τινὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ βιαιότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος ἐπὶ τὴν 342

to desire a change. But when many were going over some. to Ptolemy, Antigonus, stationing bowmen, slingers, and many of his catapults on the edge of the river, drove back those who were drawing near in their punts; and he captured some of the deserters and tortured them frightfully, wishing to intimidate any who were contemplating such an attempt as this. After adding to his force the ships that were late in arriving, he sailed to the place called Pseudostomon,3 believing that he would be able to disembark some of the soldiers there. But when he found at that place a strong garrison and was held in check by bolts and other missiles of every kind, he sailed away as night was closing in. Then giving orders to the pllots to follow the ship of the general, keeping their eyes fixed on its light, he sailed to the mouth of the Nile called Phatniticum; but when day came, since many of the ships had missed the course, he was forced to wait for these and to send out the swiftest of those that had followed him to search for them.

76. Since this caused considerable delay, Ptolemy, hearing of the arrival of the enemy, came quickly to reinforce his men and after drawing up his army, stationed it along the shore; but Demetrius, having failed to make this landing also and hearing that the adjacent coast was naturally fortified by swamps and marshes, retraced his course with his whole fleet. Then a strong north wind burst upon them and the billows rose high; and three of his quadriremes and in the same way some of the transports were cast

² Literally, " False Mouth."

Φατητικόν Stephanus: Φαγνιτικόν RX, Φαγνητικόν F.
 ἡκολουθηκικών Schnefer: ἡκολουθηκότουν.

γην έξεβράσθη και τοις περί τον Πτολεμαίον ύποχείρια κατέστη αί δ' άλλαι έκβιασαμένων των πληρωμάτων διεσώθησαν πρός την Αντινόνου 3 στρατοπεδείαν. των δε περί τον Πτολεμαΐου διειληφότων πασαν την περί τον ποταμον έκβασιν φυλακαίς ισχυραίς και πολλών μέν σκαφών ποταμίων αὐτίδ παρεσκευασμένων, πάντων δε τούτων εγόντων βέλη παντοία και τούς χρησομένους αύτοίς άνδρας οί περί τον Αντίγονον ου μετρίως ήποι ρούντο ή γάρ ναυτική δύναμις άχρηστος ήν αὐτοίς προκατειλημμένου τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ στόματος ὑπὸ τέθν πυλεμίων, τό τε πεζόν στράτευμα την δρμήν απρακτον είχε τω μεγέθει του ποταμού διειργάμενον, το δε μέγιστον, ήμερων ήδη συχνών διεληλυθυιών υπολείπειν ήδη συνέβαινε τόν τε σίτον καί 5 τα γορτάσματα τοῖς κτήνευι. διὰ δή ταῦτα τῆς δυνάμεως άθυμούσης παρακαλών το στρατόπεδον και τους ηγεμόνας "Αντίγονος προέθηκε βουλήν πότερον συμφέρει μένειν καὶ διαπολεμείν, ή νῦν μέν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Συρίαν, υστερον δὲ κάλλιον παρασκευασαμένους στρατεύσαι καθ' δν αν χρύνον ο έλάχιστος ο Νείλος είναι δόξη. πάντων δε κατενεχθέντων έπὶ τὸ τὴν ταχίστην ἀπιέναι παρήγγειλε τοις στρατιώταις αναζευγνύειν και ταγύ πάλιν έπανηλθεν είς την Συρίαν, συμπαραπλέοντος αὐτίο καὶ τοῦ στόλου παντός. Πτολεμαΐος δὲ μετά την απαλλαγήν των πολεμίων περιχαρής γενόμενος καί θύσας τοις θεοις χαριστήρια τους φίλους είστια 7 λαμπρώς. και πρός μέν τούς περί Σέλευκον και Αυσίμαχον και Κάσανδρον έγραψε περί των εύτυγημάτων καὶ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτοviolently upon the land by the waves and came into searc. the possession of Ptolemy; but the other ships, whose crews had kept them from the shore by main force, reached the tamp of Antigonus in safety. Since Ptolemy, however, had already occupied every landing place along the river with strong guards, since many river boats had been made ready for him, and since all of these were equipped with ordnance of every kind and with men to use it. Antigonus was in no little difficulty; for his naval force was of no use to him since the Pelusiae month of the Nile had been occupied in advance by the enemy, and his land forces found their advance thwarted since they were checked by the width of the river, and what was of greatest importance, as many days had passed, food for the men and fodder for the beasts were falling short. Since, then, his forces for these reasons were disheartened, Antigonus called together the army and its leaders and laid before them the question whether it was better to remain and continue the war or to return for the present to Syria and later make a campaign with more complete preparation and at the time at which the Nile was supposed to be lowest. When all inclined toward the quickest possible withdrawal, he commanded the soldiers to break camp and speedily returned to Syria, the whole fleet coasting along beside him. After the departure of the enemy Ptolemy rejoiced greatly; and, when he had made a thank-offering to the gods, he entertained his friends lavishly. He also wrote to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander about his successes and about the large number of men who had deserted to

¹ παρακαλών Cupps: παραλαβών. Fischer in apparatus suggests παραλαβών κατά το α. τοὺς ή.

μολησάντων, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἡγωνισμένος ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ νομίσας δορίκτητον ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ᾿Αλεξάνδρειαν.

77. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Διονύσιος ό τῆς 'Πρακλείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντω τύραννος ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη τριάκοντα δύο, τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενοι οἱ νἱοὶ '()ξάθρας' καὶ Κλέαρχος ἦρξαν ἔτη ἐπτακαίδεκα.

Κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίων 'Αγαθοκλής ἐπήει τὰς ύπ' αὐτὸν πόλεις ἀσφαλιζόμενος φρουραίς και χρήματα πρειττόμενος σφόδρα γάρ εθλαβείτο μήποτε διά τὰς γεγενημένας περί αὐτὸν ἀτυχίας ὁρμήσωσιν 2 οί Σικελιώται πρός την αυτονομίαν. καθ' ων δη χρόνου Πασίφιλος δ στρατηγός, ἀκούσας την τών Αγαθοκλέους υίτου αναίρεσιν και τὰ περί την Λιβύην έλαττώματα, τοῦ μέν δυνάστου κατεφρόνησε. πρός δε Δεινοκράτην ἀποστάς και φιλίαν αὐτώ συνθέμενος τάς τε πόλεις ας ήν πεπιστευμένος διακατέσχεν και την μετ' αυτού δύναμιν έλπίσι ψυχ-3 αγωγήσας άλλοτρίαν κατεσκεύασε τοῦ τυράννου. ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής πανταχόθεν τῶν ἐλπίδων περικοπτομένων ούτως εταπεινώθη την ψυχήν ώστε διαπρεσβεύσασθαι πρός Δεινοκράτην καὶ παρακαλείν ἐπὶ τοίσδε συνθήκας ποιήσασθαι, έκχωρησαι μέν της δυναστείας 'Αγαθοκλέα, παραδούναι δε τὰς Συρακούσσας τοῖς πολίταις καὶ μηκέτι είναι φυγάδα Δεινοκράτην, εξαίρετα δε δοθήναι των ερυμάτων ¹ 'Oξάθρας Wesseling (cp. Book 17. 34. 2 'Oζάθρης): ζαθρας.

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him; and he himself, having finished the second 300 nc. struggle for Fgypt 1 and convinced that the country was his as a prize of war, returned to Alexandria. 2

77. While these events were taking place, Dionysius, the tyrant of Heraclea Pontica, died after having ruled for thirty-two years *; and his sons, Oxathras and Clearchus, succeeding to his tyranny, ruled for

seventeen years.

In Sicily 4 Agathocles visited the cities that were subject to him, making them secure with garrisons and exacting money from them; for he was taking extreme precautions lest, because of the misfortunes that had befallen him, the Sicilian Greeks should make an effort to gain their independence. Indeed at that very time Pasiphilus the general, having heard of the murder of Agathocles' sons and of his reverses in Libya, regarded the tyrant with contempt; and, deserting to Deinocrates and establishing friendship with him, he both kept a firm grip on the cities which had been entrusted to him and by alluring the minds of his soldiers with hopes alienated them from the tyrant. Agathoeles, now that his hopes were being curtailed in every quarter, was so cast down in spirit that he sent an embassy to Deinocrates and invited him to make a treaty on these terms: that, on the one hand, Agathocles should withdraw from his position as tyrant and restore Syracuse to its citizens, and Deinocrates should no longer be an exile, and that, on the other hand, there should be given to

¹ Cp. Book 18, 33-35.

It is probably in the winter after this campaign that Ptolemy assumed the diadem and the royal title; ep. chap. 58. 3, and note. The narrative is continued in chap. 81.

² Cp. Book 16, 68, 5.

⁴ Continued from chap. 78. 5.

'Αγαθοκλεί δύο, Θέρμα καὶ Κεφαλοίδιον καὶ την

χώραν την τούτων.

78. Θαυμάσαι δ' αν τις είκότως έν τούτοις πως 'Αγαθυκλής, ύπυστατικός ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι γενόμενος καὶ μηδέποθ' έαυτον εν ταῖς εσχάταις προσδοκίαις απελπίσας, τύτε δειλωθείς ακονιτί παρεχώρησε τοις πολεμίοις της τυραννίδος, ύπερ ης πολλούς και μεγάλους κινδύνους προηγωνίσατο, και το πάντων παραλογώτατου. Συρακουσσών τε κυριεύσας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα κεκτημένος και δύναμιν σύμμετρυν. έξησθένησε τοίς λογισμοίς, ούδεν των γενομένων περί 2 Διονύσιον τον τύραινον μινησθείς. τούτου γάρ πατε συνδιωχθέντος είς περίστασιν όμολογουμένως άπεγνωσμένην και δια το μέγεθος των επηρτημένων κινδύνων απελπίσαντος μέν τα κατά την δυναστείαν, μέλλοντος δ' εκ των Συρακουσσών εξιππεύειν πρός έκούσιου φυγήν, "Ελωρις ό πρεσβύτατος των φίλων ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς ὁρμῆς ' Διονύσιε,' φησίν, ' καλὸν 3 ἐντάψιον ἡ τυραννίς.' παραπλησίως δε τούτιο καὶ ό κηδεστής Μεγακλής άπεφήνατο πρός αυτόν, είπων ότι δεί τον έκ τυραννίδος εκπίπτοντα του σκέλους έλκόμενον απιέναι καί μή κατά προαίρεσιν απαλλάττεσθαι. ύπο δε τούτων των παρακλήσεων ό Διονύσιος μετεωρισθείς ενεκαρτέρησε πῶσι τοῖς δοκούσιν είναι δεινοίς και την μέν άρχην μείζονα κατεσκεύασεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ταύτης καλοῖς έγγηράσας ἀπέλιπε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις μεγίστην τῶν κατά την Ευρώπην δυναστείαν.

79. Αγαθοκλής δ' επ' ούδενι τούτων μετεω-

¹ In Book 14. 8. 4-6 the words of Heloris are given as here; \$48

Agathocles two designated fortresses, Therma and 306 n.c.

Cephaloedium, together with their territories.

78. One might with good reason express wonder at this point that Agathocles, who had shown himself resolute in every other situation and had never lost confidence in himself when his prospects were at their lowest, at this time became a coward and without a fight abandoned to his enemies the tyranny for the sake of which he had previously fought many great battles, and what was the most unaccountable of all, that while he was master of Syracuse and of the other cities and had possession of ships and wealth and an army commensurate with these, he lost all power of calculating chances, recalling not one of the experiences of the tyrant Dionysius. For instance, when that tyrant had been driven into a situation that was confessedly desperate and when, because of the greatness of the impending dangers, he had given up hope of retaining his throne and was about to ride out from Syracuse into voluntary exile, Heloris, the eldest of his friends, opposing his impulse, said, "Dionysius, tyranny is a good winding-sheet." And similarly his brother-in-law, Megacles, spoke his mind to Dionysius, saying that the man who was being expelled from a tyranny ought to make his exit dragged by the leg and not to depart of his own free Encouraged by these exhortations, Dionysius firmly faced all the emergencies that seemed formidable, and not only made his dominion greater, but when he himself had grown old amid its blessings, he left to his sons the greatest empire of Europe.

79. Agathoeles, however, buoyed up by no such

but the advice here assigned to Megacles is there put in the mouth of the historian Philistus.

ρισθείς ούδε τας ανθρωπίνας ελπίδας εξελέγξας τη πείρα τηλικαύτην άρχην εκδοτον εποίει ταύταις ταίς ομολογίαις. ταύτας δ' ασυντελέστους συνέβη γενέσθαι τη μεν 'Αγαθοκλέους προαιρέσει κυρωθείσας, διά δὲ τὴν Δεινοκράτους πλεονεξίαν μὴ προσδεχθεί-2 σιις. ούτος γάρ μοναρχίας ων επιθυμητής της μέν έν ταις Συρακούσσαις δημοκρατίας άλλότριος ήν, τή δε ήγεμονία τη τότε ούση περί αὐτὸν εὐαρεστείτο. αφηγείτο γάρ πεζών μεν πλειόνων ή δισμυρίων, ίππεων δε τρισχιλίων, πόλεων δε πολλών καί μεγάλων, ώστε αὐτὸν μεν καλείσθαι τῶν φυγάδων στρατηγόν, τη δ' άληθεία βασιλικήν έχειν υπερυχήν, 3 της έξουσίας ούσης περί αὐτον αὐτοκράτορος. εί κατέλθοι δ' εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας, πάντως ἀναγκαίον αν ήν ιδιώτην υπάρχειν και ένα των πολλών άριθμείσθαι, της αὐτονομίας άγαπώσης την ἰσότητα, έν τε ταις χειροτονίαις ύπο του τυχόντος δημαγωγού παρευημερείοθαι, του πλήθους άντικειμένου ταις ύπεροχαις των ανδρών των αγύντων διόπερ 'Αγαθοκλής μέν δικαίως αν musungian. λέγοιτο λελοιπέναι την της τυραννίδος τάξιν, Δεινοκράτης δ' αίτιος είναι νομίζοιτο των υστερον τω 4 δυνάστη κατορθωθέντων. ούτος γάρ, συνεχώς 'Αγαθοκλέους διαπρεσβευομένου περί των όμολογιών και δεομένου συγχωρήσαι τὰ δύο φρούρια προς καταβίωσιν, αεί προφάσεις εὐλόγους κατεσκεύαζε δι' ων διέκοπτε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν όμολογιών, ποτε μεν αποφαινόμενος έκ Σικελίας αὐτον απαλλάττεσθαι, ποτέ δὲ τὰ τέκνα πρός όμηρίαν 5 αἰτῶν. ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλης γνούς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν πρός μέν τους φυγάδας διεπέμπετο κατηγορών του 1 énoise ravrais l'est, énoistre Dindorf : межибучи.

consideration and failing to test his mortal hopes by some. experience, was on the point of abandoning his empire, great as it was, on these terms. But as it happened, the treaty never went into effect, ratified indeed by the policy of Agathocles, but not accepted because of the ambition of Deinocrates. The latter, having set his heart upon sole rule, was hostile to the democracy in Syracusc and was well pleased with the position of leadership that he himself then had; for he commanded more than twenty thousand foot soldiers, three thousand horsemen, and many great cities, so that, although he was called general of the exiles, he really possessed the authority of a king, his power being absolute. But if he should return to Syracuse, it would inevitably be his lot to be a private citizen and be numbered as one of the many, since independence loves equality; and in the elections he might be defeated by any chance demagogue. since the crowd is opposed to the supremacy of men who are outspoken. Thus Agathoeles might justly be said to have descried his post as tyrant, and Deinoerates might be regarded as responsible for the later successes of the dynast. For Deinocrates, when Agathoeles kept sending embassies to discuss the terms of peace and begging him to grant the two fortresses in which he might end his days, always trumped up specious excuses by which he cut off' any hope of a treaty, now insisting that Agathoeles should leave Sicily, and now demanding his children as hostages. When Agathoeles discovered his purpose, he sent to the exiles and accused Deinocrates

Δεινοκράτους ώς διακωλύοντος αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτοὺς τῆς αὐτονομίας, πρὸς δὲ Καρχηδονίους πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλας συνέθετο τὴν εἰρήψην ἐφ' οῖς τὰς πόλεις κομίσασθαι τοὺς Φοίνικας πάσας τὰς πρότερον ὑπ' αὐτοὺς γεγενημένας: ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων χρυσίου μὲν εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον ἀναγόμενον' τριακοσίων ταλάντων, ὡς δὲ Τίμαιός φησιν, ἐκατὸν πεντήκοντα, σίτου δὲ μεδίμινων εϊκοσι μυριάδας.

Καὶ τὰ μέν περί Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ήν.

80. Κατά δε την 'Ιταλίαν Σαμνίται μεν Σώραν καὶ Καλατίαν πόλεις 'Γωμαίοις συμμαχούσας εκπολιορκήσαντες εξηνδραποδίσαντο οί δ' υπατοι δυνάμεσιν άδραις είς την 'Ιαπυγίαν εμβαλύντες πλη-

2 σίον Σιλβίου πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. φρουρουμένης δε αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Σαμνιτῶν συνεστήσαντο πολιορκίαν ἐφ' ἰκανὰς ἡμέρας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐλόντες αἰχμάλωτα σώματα πλείω τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἔλαβον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λαφύρων ἰκανών τι

3 πλήθος. ἀπό δὲ τούτων γενόμενοι την τῶν Σαμνιτῶν χώραν ἐπήλθοι δενδροτομοῦντες καὶ πάντα
τόπον καταφθείροιτες πολλὰ γὰρ ἔτη τῆς 'Γώμης
πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος διαπολεμούσης ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἤλπιζον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήσεων στερήσαντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάσειν εἶξαι τοῦς
4 ὑπερέχουσιν. διὸ καὶ πέντε μῆνας καταναλώσαν-

¹ ἀναγόμενον added by Fischer, cp. Bonks 16, 56, 6; 17, 71, 1.

of hindering them from gaining their independence, 206 nor and to the Carthaginians he sent envoys and made peace with them on terms such that the Phoenicians should regain all the cities which had formerly been subject to them, and in return for them he received from the Carthaginians gold to the value of three hundred talents of silver (or, as Timaeus says, one hundred and fifty), and two hundred thousand measures of grain.¹

And affairs in Sicily were in this condition.

80. In Italy the Samnites took Sora and Calatia, cities that were allied to the Romans, and enslaved the inhabitants 2; and the consuls with strong armies invaded Iapygia and camped near Silvium. This city was garrisoned by the Samuites, and the Romans began a siege which lasted a considerable number of days. Capturing the city by storm, they took prisoner more than five thousand persons and collected a considerable amount of booty besides. When they had finished with this, they invaded the country of the Samuites, cutting down the trees and destroying every district. For the Romans, who had for many years been fighting the Samnites for the primacy, hoped that if they deprived the enemy of their property in the country, it would force them to submit to the stronger. For this reason they devoted

⁴ Cp. Justin, 22, 8, 45. The narrative is continued in chap. 89.

^{*} Cp. Livy 9, 43. 1. The narrative is continued from chap.

Strabo, 6. 3. 8 (p. 283), places Silvium on the frontier between Apulia and Inpygia.

^{*} καὶ Καλατίαν Wesseling, καὶ Καιατίαν or καὶ 'Ατίναν Mommsen: καὶ 'Ατίαν R.Χ., καὶ 'Αττίαν F.

² yevonever added by Kallenberg.

τες είς την της πολεμίας γης καταφθοράν τάς τε επαύλεις σχεδόν ἀπάσας επυρπόλησαν και την χώραν εξηγρίωσαν, άφανίσαντες πῶν τὰ δυνάμενον ενεγκεῖν ημερον καρπόν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ᾿Λναγνίταις ἀδικήματα ποιοῦσι πόλεμον κατήγγειλαν, Φρουσίνωνα δὲ ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἀπέδοντο τὴν

χώραν.

81. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Λθήνησι μέν ήρχεν Ευξένιππος, έν 'Ι'ώμη δ' υπήρχον ύπατοι Λεύκιος Ποστούμιος και Τιβέριος Μινούκιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Τοδίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς 2 'Αντίγουον διά τοιαύτας τινάς αίτίας. ή πόλις ή τῶν 'Ροδίων ἰσχύουσα ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ πολιτευομένη κάλλιστα τῶν Ελλήνων περιμάχητος τοῖς δυνάσταις καὶ βασιλεύσιν ήν, ἐκάστου σπεύδοντος είς την αύτου φιλίαν προσλαμβάνεσθαι. προορωμένη δε πόρρωθεν το συμφέρον και προς απαντας κατ' ίδίαν συντιθεμένη την φιλίαν των πρός άλλή-3 λους τοις δυνάσταις πολέμων ου μετείχεν. διόπερ συνέβαινεν αὐτὴν τιμᾶσθαι μεν ύφ' έκάστου βασιλικαις δωρεαις, άγουσαν δε πολύν χρόνον ειρήνην μεγάλην επίδοσιν λαβείν πρός αυξησιν επί τοσούτον γάρ προεληλύθει δυνάμεως ωσθ' ύπερ μεν των Ελλήνων ίδια τον προς τους πειρατάς πόλεμον έπαναιρείσθαι καὶ καθαράν παρέχεσθαι τῶν κακούργων την θάλατταν, τον δέ πλείστον Ισχύσαντα των μνημονευομένων 'Αλέξανδρον προτιμήσαντ' αύτην μάλιστα των πόλεων και την ύπερ όλης της

^{1 &#}x27;Avayvirais Rhodoman, ep. Livy, 9. 43: Alywirais RX, Alywirais F. auto0 Post: auto0.

five months to the ruining of the enemy's land; and :00 ne. they burned nearly all the farm-buildings and laid waste the land, destroying everything that could produce cultivated fibit. Thereafter they declared war on the Anagnitae, who were acting unjustly, and

taking Frusino they distributed the land.1

81. When this year had passed, Euxenippus be- 205 me. came archon in Athens, and in Rome Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Minucius were consuls.2 While these held office war arose between the Rhodians and Antigonus for some such reasons as these.3 The city of the Rhodians, which was strong in sea power and was the best governed city of the Greeks, was a prize engerly sought after by the dynasts and kings, each of them striving to add her to his alliance. Seeing far in advance what was advantageous and establishing friendship with each of the dynasts separately, Rhodes took no part in their wars with each other. As a result she was honoured by each of them with regal gifts and, while enjoying peace for a long time, made great steps forward. In fact she advanced to such strength that in behalf of the Greeks she by herself undertook her war against the pirates and purged the seas of these evil-doers; and Alexander, the most powerful of men known to memory, honouring Rhodes above all cities, both deposited there the

³ The narrative is continued from chap. 76. For the

Rhodian campaign cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 21-92.

Anagnia was the chief city of the Hernici. Livy, 9, 43, places the victory over the Hernici in this year but the confiscation of the land of Frusino three years later (10. 1. 3). The narrative is continued in chap. 90, 3.

Euxenippus was archon in 305/4 n.c. Livy, 9, 44, 2, gives as the consuls of 305 a.c., L. Posturnius and T. Minucius; but a fragment of the Pasti Capitolini supports Diodorus in the pragnomen of the last-named.

βασιλείας διαθήκην έκει θέσθαι καὶ τάλλα θαυμάζειν καὶ προάγειν εἰς ὑπεροχήν. οἱ δ' οὖν
'Ρόδιοι πρὸς πάντας τοὺς δυμάστας συντεθειμένοι
τὴν φιλίαν διετήρουν μὲν ἐαυτοὺς ἐκτὸς ἐγκλήματος δικαίου, ταις δ' εὐνοίαις ἔρεπον μάλιστα πρὸς
Πτολεμαΐον συνέβαινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν τε προσόδων
τὰς πλείστας εἶναι διὰ τοὺς εἰς Αἵγυπτον πλέοντας
ἐμπόρους καὶ τὸ σύνολον τρέφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ
ταύτης τῆς βασιλείας.

82. "Ο δη συνορών ο 'Αντίνονος και σπεύδων αὐτούς ἀποσπάσαι της πρός ἐκείνων ἐπιπλοκης τὸ μέν πρώτον πρεσβευτάς ἀπέστειλε καθ' ον καιρον ύπερ της Κύπρου διεπολέμει πρός Πτολεμαΐον, άξιων αύτω συμμαγείν και ναθς συναποστείλαι τω 2 Δημητρίω· οὐ προσεγόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλέ τινα των στρατηγών μετά νεών, συντάξας τούς πλέοντας είς Αίγυπτον έκ της Τόδου κατάγειν καί περιαιρείσθαι τὰ φυρτία. τούτου δ' ἐκβληθέντος ύπο των 'Ροδίων φήσας αὐτούς άδίκου κατήρχθαι πολέμου διηπειλήσατο πολιορκήσειν δυνάμεσιν άδραις την πόλιν. οι δέ 'Ρόδιοι το μέν πρώτον έψηφίσαντο μεγάλας αὐτῷ τιμὰς καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ηξίουν μη βιάσασθαι την πόλιν προπεσείν παρά τὰς συνθήκας είς τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Πτολε-3 μαΐου. τραχύτερου δέ τοῦ βαπιλέως άπαυτώντος καὶ τὸν υίὸν Δημήτριον ἐκπέμψαντος μετὰ δυνάμεως και πολιορκητικών οργάνων φοβηθέντες την

¹ προπεσείν Dindorf: προσπεσείν.

² Alexander entrusted certain memoranda to Craterus (Book 18, 4, 1), but these were not a will, and Diodorus' 356

testament i disposing of his whole realm and in other 305 a.c. ways showed admiration for her and promoted her to a commanding position. At any rate, the Rhodians, having established pilets of friendship with all the rulers, carefully avoided giving legitimate grounds for complaint; but in displaying goodwill they inclined chiefly toward Ptolemy, for it happened that most of their revenues were due to the merchants who sailed to Egypt, and that in general the city

drew its food supply from that kingdom.

82. Because Antigonus knew this and was intent on separating the Rhodians from their connection with Ptolemy, he first sent out envoys to them at the time when he was fighting with Ptolemy for Cyprus and asked them to ally themselves with him and to dispatch ships in company with Demetrius :; and when they did not consent, he dispatched one of his generals with ships, ordering him to bring to land any merchants sailing to Egypt from Rhodes and to seize their eargoes. When this general was driven off by the Rhodians, Antigonus, declaring that they were authors of an unjust war, threatened to lay siege to the city with strong forces. The Rhodians, however, first voted great honours for him; and, sending envoys, they begged him not to force the city to rush into the war against Ptolemy contrary to their treaties. But then, when the king answered rather harshly and sent his son Demetrius with an army and siege equipment, they were so

narrative of the events following Alexander's death assumes that no will existed.

⁷ Cp. chap. 46. 6. In 315 n.c. Rhodes had built warships for Antigonus from timber that he furnished (Book 19. 57. 4; 58. 5); and in 313 n.c. she had furnished 10 ships for the campaign to free Greece (Book 19. 77. 2).

ύπεροχήν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ μέν πρώτον ἀπέστειλαν πρός του Δημήτριου, φήσαυτες συμπολεμήσειν 'Αντιγόνω πρός Πτολεμαΐον ής δ' εκείνος όμήρους έκατον ήτει τους επιφανεστάτους και τοις λιμέσι δέγεσθαι του στόλου προσέταττευ, υπολαβόντες έπιβουλεύειν αὐτὸν τῆ πόλει, τὰ πρὸς πόλεμων 4 παρεσκευάζουτο. Δημήτριος δε πασαν την δύναμιν άθροίσας είς τον εν Λωρύμοις λιμένα στόλου έξήρτυς πρός του επίπλουν του έπλ την Υόδου. είχε δέ ναθς μακράς μέν παντοίας μεγέθει διακουίας, ύπηρετικά δὲ πλείω τῶν έκατον έβδυμήκοντα: ἐν δέ τούτοις εκομίζοντο στρατιώται βραχύ λειπόμενοι των τετρακισμυρίων σύν ίππεθσι καὶ τοῖς συμμαχούσι πειραταίς. ὑπῆρχε δὲ καὶ βελῶν παντοίων πληθος καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίαν χρησίμων 5 μεγάλη παρασκευή. χωρίς δε τούτων ίδιωτικά πόρια συνηκολούθει των ταις άγοραις χρωμένων βραχὺ λειπόμενα τῶν χιλίων πολλά γὰρ ἔτη τῆς χώρας της 'Ροδίων απορθήτου γεγενημένης συνέρρει πανταχόθεν πληθος των είωθότων ώφελείας ίδίας ήγεισθαι τὰ τῶν πολεμουμένων ἀτυχήματα.

85. '() μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ὧσπερ εἴς τινα ναυμαχίαν ἐκτάξας τὸν στόλον καταπληκτικῶς πρυηγεῖσθαι μὲν ἐποίησε τὰς μακρὰς ναῦς, ἐχούσας ἐπὶ ταῖς πρώραις τοὺς τρισπιθάμους τῶν ὀξυβελῶν, ἐπακολουθεῖν δὲ τὰς στρατιωτικὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππηγοὺς ῥυμουλκουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν ταῖς εἰρεσίαις χρω-

frightened by the superior power of the king that at 315 s.c. first they sent to Demetrius, saying that they would join Antigonus in the war with Ptolemy, but when Demetrius demanded as hostages a hundred of the noblest citizens and ordered also that his fleet should be received in their harbours, concluding that he was plotting against the city, they made ready for war. Demetrius, guthering all his forces in the harbour at Loryma,1 made his fleet ready for the attack on Rhodes. He had two hundred warships of all sizes and more than one hundred and seventy auxiliary vessels; on these were transported not quite forty thousand soldiers besides the cavalry and the pirates who were his allies. There was also an ample supply of orduance of all sorts and a large provision of all the things necessary for a siege. In addition there accomnamed him almost a thousand privately owned ships, which belonged to those who were engaged in trade; for since the land of the Rhodians had been unplundered for many years, there had gathered together from all quarters a host of those who were accustomed to consider the misfortunes of men at war a means of enriching themselves.

83. And so Demetrius, having drawn up his fleet as if for a naval battle in a way to inspire panic, sent forward his warships, which had on their prows the catapults for bolts three spans in length 2; and he had the transports for men and horses follow, towed by the ships that used oarsmen; and last of all came

¹ Loryma is in Caria about twenty miles distant from Rhudes.

² For the use of catapults on ships cp. Turn, Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments, 120-121.

¹ Λωρύμοις Palmer, cp. Book 17. 83. 7: Έλωρύμνοις.

μένων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν πειρατῶν πόρια καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ἀγοραίων, ὑπεράγοντα τῷ πλήθει, καθάπερ προείρηται, ώστε πάντα τον άνα μέσον τόπον της τε νήσου και της αντικειμένης παραλίας συμπεπληρωμένον φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πλοίοις και πολύν φόβον και κατάπληξιν παρέχεσθαι τοίς 2 ἀπό τῆς πύλεως θεωρούσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ στρατιώται των Τοδίων διειληφότες τὰ τείχη τον ἐπίπλουν εκαραδόκουν των πολεμίων, πρευβύται δε καί νυναίκες ἀπό τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀφεώρων, οὔσης τῆς πόλεως θεατροειδούς, πάντες δέ τό τε μέγεθος τοῦ ατόλου και την αθγήν των αποστιλβόντων οπλων καταπληττόμενοι περί των όλων ου μετρίως ήγωνίων. 3 είθ' ό μεν Δημήτριος κατέπλευσεν είς την νησον, άποβιβάσας δε την δύναμιν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν πλησίον της πόλεως, έκτος βέλους ποιησάμενος την παρεμβολήν, εὐθὺς δὲ τῶν πειρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τους ευθέτους εξέπεμε πορθήσοντας την νησον 4 και κατά γην και κατά βάλατταν. έδενδροτόμησε δέ και την πλησίον χώραν και καθείλε τάς έπαύλεις, έξ ων ωχύρωσε την στρατοπεδείαν, περιλαβών τριπλώ χάρακι και σταυρώμασι πυκνοίς και μεγάλοις, ώστε την των πολεμίων βλάβην γίνεσθαι των ιδίων ἀσφάλειαν. μετά δε ταθτα πάση τη δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς πληρώμασιν έχωσεν ἐν ολίγαις ήμεραις το μεταξύ της πόλεως διαλείπου προς την εκβασιν καὶ κατεσκεύασε λιμένα ταίς ναυσίν άρκοῦντα.

81. Οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι μέχρι μέν τινος πρέσβεις ἐκπέμποντες ἡξίουν μηδὲν πρᾶξαι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως

¹ δè after overs omitted by Dindorf.
² δè added by Dindorf.

also the eargo-ships of the pirates and of the mer- 305 Me. chants and traders, which as we have already said, were exceedingly numerous, so that the whole space between the island and the opposite shore was seen to be filled with his vessels, which brought great fear and panie to those who were watching from the city. For the soldiers of the Rhodians, occupying their several positions on the walls, were awaiting the approach of the hostile fleet, and the old men and women were looking on from their homes, since the city is shaped like a theatre 1; and all, being terrorstricken at the magnitude of the fleet and the gleam of the shining armour, were not a little anxious about the final outcome. Then Demetrins sailed to the island; and after disembarking his army, he took position near the city, setting up his camp out of range of missiles. He at once sent out fit and proper men from the pirates and others to plunder the Island both by land and by sea. He also cut down the trees in the region near by and destroyed the farm buildings, and with this material he fortified the camp, surrounding it with a triple palisade and with great, close-set stockades, so that the loss suffered by the enemy became a protection for his own men. After this, using the whole army and the crews, he in a few days closed with a mole the space between the city and the exit, and made a port large enough for his ships.

84. For a time the Rhodians kept sending envoys and asking him to do nothing irreparable against the

¹ Cp. Book 19, 45, 3,

άνήκεστον ώς δ' οὐδείς αὐτοῖς προσεῖχεν, ἀπογνόντες τάς διαλύσεις εξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτάς πρός Πτολεμαΐον και Λυσίμαχον και Κάσανδρον, άξιούντες βοηθείν, ώς της πόλεως προπολεμούσης 2 ύπερ αὐτών. των δ' έν τη πόλει κατοικούντων παροίκων καὶ ξένων δόντες εξουσίαν τοῖς βουλομένοις συναγωνίζεσθαι, τούς λοιπούς άχρήστους έκ της πόλεως εξέπεμψαν, αμα μέν της των άναγκαίων ενδείας προνοηθέντες, αμα δε και του μηδένα τη καταστάσει δυσχεραίνοντα γίνεσθαι της πόλεως προδότην. ἀριθμον δέ ποιησάμενοι των δυναμένων άγωνίζεσθαι πολιτών μεν εύρον περί έξακισχιλίους, 3 των δέ παροίκων και ξένων είς χιλίους. εψηφίσαντο δέ καὶ τῶν δούλων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους εν τοις κινδύνοις άγοράσαντας παρά των δεσποτών έλευθέρους καὶ πολίτας είναι έγραψαν δε και των τελευτησάντων εν τω πολέμω τα μέν σώματα δημοσία θάπτεσθαι, τους δε γονεις3 καὶ παίδας τρέφεσθαι λαμβάνοντας την χορηγίαν ἀπό τοῦ κοινοῦ ταμιείου, καὶ τὰς μὲν παρθένους δημοσία προικίζεσθαι, τούς δ' υίους έν ήλικία γενομένους εν τῷ θεάτρω στεφανώσαι τοῖς Διονυ-4 σίοις πανοπλία. δια δέ τούτων εκκαλεσάμενοι τας απάντων προθυμίας είς το τούς κινδύνους ύπομένειν εὐψύχως, ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην παρασκευήν. δμονοούντος γάρ τοῦ πλήθους οί μεν εύποροι χρήματ' εἰσέφερον, οἱ δὲ τεχνίται τάς αύτων επιστήμας παρείχουτο πρός την των

¹ προπολεμούσης Wesseling: προσπολεμούσης.

BOOK XX, 84, 1-4

city; but as no one paid any heed to these, they gave sos se. up hope of a truce and sent envoys to Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, begging them to give aid and saying that the city was fighting the war on their behalf. As to the metics and aliens who dwelt in the city, to those who wished they gave permission to join them in the fighting, and the others who were of no service they sent forth from the city, partly as a precaution against scarcity of supplies, and partly that there might be no one to become dissatisfied with the situation and try to be tray the city. When they made a count of those who were able to fight, they found that there were about six thousand citizens and as many as a thousand metics and aliens. They voted also to buy from their masters any slaves who proved themselves brave men in the battle, and to emancipate and enfranchise them. And they also wrote another decree, that the bodies of those who fell in the war should be given public burial and, further, that their parents and children should be maintained, receiving their support from the public treasury, that their unmarried daughters should be given dowries at the public cost, and that their sons on reaching manhood should be crowned in the theatre at the Dionysia and given a full suit of armour. When by these measures they had roused the spirits of all to endure the battles with courage, they also made what preparation was possible in regard to other matters. Since the whole people was of one mind, the rich contributed money, the craftsmen gave their skilled services for the preparation of the arms, and

2 ελευθέρους Capps: ελευθερούν.

Pischer suggests the addition of καὶ γυναϊκας after γονεῖς, cp. Book 17, 11, 5.

οπλων κατασκευήν, απας δ' ήν ένεργός, τη φιλο-5 τιμία τούς άλλους ύπερθέσθαι σπεύδων. διόπερ οί μεν εγίνοντο περί τους όξυβελείς και πετροβόλους, οί δε περί την των άλλων κατασκευήν, τινές δε τα πεπονηκότα των τειχών επεσκεύαζον, πλείστοι δε λίθους πρός τὰ τείχη φέροντες ἐσώρευον. ἐξέπεμψαν δέ και των άριστα πλεουσών νεών τρείς έπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς παρακομίζοντας αὐτοῖς 6 άγορας εμπόρους, αύται δε παραδόξως επιφανείσαι πολλά μέν πλοία των έπι την προνομήν της χώρας ώφελείας χάριν πλεόντων έμπόρων κατεπόντισαν, ούκ όλίγα δέ και πρός τον αιγιαλόν κατασπώσαι συνέκαυσαν, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰ δυνάμενα δούναι λύτρον παρεκόμιζον είς την πόλιν συνέθεντο γάρ οί 'Ρόδιοι πρός τον Δημήτριον ώστε άλλήλοις διδάναι λύτρον έλευθέρου μέν χιλίας δραχμάς, δούλου δέ πεντακοσίας.

85. Πρός τὰς θέσεις τῶν ὀργάνων δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος ἄφθονον ἔχων ἁπάντων χορηγίαν ἤρξατο
κατασκευάζειν δύο χελώνας, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πετροβόλους, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς, ἀμφοτέρας
δὲ ταύτας ἐπὶ δύο πλοίων φορτηγῶν διαβεβηκυίας κατεζευγμένων, δύο δὲ πύργους τετραστέγους ὑπερέχοντας τοῦς ὕψεσι τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος
πύργων, ἐκάτερον δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο πλοίων ἴσων²
βεβηκότα καὶ κατειλημμένον ὅπως ἐν τῷ προσάγειν ἡ στάσις ἐκατέρα τῶν πλευρῶν ἰσόρροπον
2 ἔχη τὸ βάρος. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ χάρακα πλωτόν
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every man was active, each striving in a spirit of soone. rivalry to surpass the others. Consequently, some were busy with the catapults and ballistae, others with the preparation of other equipment, some were repairing any ruined portions of the walls, and very many were carrying stones to the walls and stacking them. They even sent out three of their swiftest ships against the enemy and the merchant ships which brought provisions to him. These ships on appearing unexpectedly sank many vessels belonging to merchants who had sailed for the purpose of plundering the land for their own profit, and even hauled not a few of the ships up on the beach and burned them. As for the prisoners, those who could pay a ransom they took into the city, for the Rhodians had made an agreement with Demetrius that each should pay the other a thousand drachmae as ransom for a free man and five hundred for a slave.

85. Demetrius, who had an ample supply of everything required for setting up his engines of war, began to prepare two penthouses, one for the ballistae, the other for the catapults, each of them firmly mounted on two cargo vessels fastened together, and two towers of four storeys, exceeding in height the towers of the harbour, each of them mounted upon two ships of the same size and fastened there in such a way that as the towers advanced the support on each side upheld an equal weight. He also prepared

Or, reading wal warefeepplerar: "mounted on two curgo vessels and fastened securely."

¹ διαβεβηκυίας κατεξευγμένων (iver, διαβεβηκυίας καὶ κατεξευγμένως Fischer: διαβεβηκότων καὶ κατεξευγμένων.
² ίσον Madvig, Fischer.

τετραπέδων ξύλων επικαθηλωμένων, όπως προπλέων ούτος κωλύη τους πολεμίους επιπλέοντας έμβολάς διδόναι τοῖς φέρουσι τὰς μηχανάς πλοίοις.

3 εν όσω δε ταῦτα την συντέλειαν ελάμβανεν, άθροίσας τούς άδροτάτους των λέμβων και τούτους καταφράξας σανίσι καὶ θυρίδας κλειστάς καταπκευάσας ενέθετο μεν των τρισπιθάμων δξυβελών τους πορρωτάτω βάλλοντας και τούς τούτοις κατά τρόπου χρησομένους, έτι δε τοξότας Κρήτας, τὰς δε ναΰς προσαγαγών έντος βέλους κατετίτρωσκε τούς κατά την πόλιν ύψηλότερα τὰ παρά τὸν λιμένα τείχη κατασκευάζοντας.

4 Οί δὲ 'Ρόδιοι θεωρούντες του Δημητρίου την πάσαν επιβολήν ούσαν επί τον λιμένα και αὐτοί τὰ πρός την ασφάλειαν τούτου παρεσκευάζοντο. δύο μέν οδν έστησαν μηχανάς έπὶ τοῦ χώματος, τρεῖς δ' επί φορτηγών πλοίων πλησίον τών κλείθρων τοῦ μικροῦ λιμένος έν δὲ ταύταις ἔθηκαν πλήθος όξυβελών και πετροβόλων παντοίων τοις μεγέθεσιν, όπως, εάν τε αποβιβάζωσιν οι πολέμιοι πρός το χώμα στρατιώτας αν τε τὰς μηχανάς προσάγωσι, διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς εἴργεσθαι τῆς ἐπιβολής. ἐπέστησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὁρμοῦσι τῶν φορτηγῶν πλοίων έν τῷ λιμένι βελοστάσεις οἰκείας τοῖς επιτίθεσθαι μέλλουσι καταπέλταις.

86. Αμφοτέρων δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρεσκευασμένων ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ μέν πρώτον έπιβαλόμενος προσάγειν τὰς μηχανάς τοῦς λιμέσιν έκωλύθη κλύδωνος επιγενομένου τραγυτέρου μετά

* προπλέων Dindorf ι προσπλέων.

¹ τετραπέδων ξύλων Ιπικαθηλωμόνων Geer, ἐπὶ τετρ. ξύ. καθηλωμένον Fischer: ἐπὶ τετρ. ξύ. καθηλωμένων.

a floating boom of squared logs studded with spikes, the control in order that as this was floated forward it might prevent the enemy from sailing up and ramming the ships that were carrying the engines of war. In the interval while these were receiving their finishing touches, he collected the strongest of the light eraft, fortified them with planks, provided them with ports that could be closed, and placed upon them those of the catapults for bolts three palms long which had the longest range and the men to work them properly, and also Cretan archers; then, sending the boats within range, he shot down the men of the city who were building higher the walls along the harbour.

When the Rhodians saw that the entire attack of Demetrius was aimed against the harbour, they themselves also took measures for its security. They placed two machines 2 on the mole and three upon freighters near the boom of the small harbour; in these they mounted a large number of catapults and ballistae of all sizes, in order that if the enemy should disembark soldiers on the mole or should advance his machines, he might be thwarted in his design by this means. They also placed on such eargo ships as were at anchor in the harbour platforms suitable for the catapults that were to be mounted on them.

86. After both sides had made their preparations in this way, Demetrius at first endeavoured to bring his engines of war against the harbour, but he was prevented when too rough a sea arose; later on,

Probably penthouses or sheds.

Or, reading in τετραπίδον fixtor καθηλιομένου: " a floating palisade fastened with spikes to squared logs."

² καταπέλταις Rhodoman : καταπίλτας.

δὲ ταῦτα νυκτός εὐδίας λαβόμενος έλαθε παραπλεύσας καὶ καταλαβόμενος ἄκρον τὸ χῶμα τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος εὐθὺς περιεχαράκωσε τον τόπον καὶ διέφραξε θυρώμασι και πέτροιο, έξεβίβασε δ' είς αὐτὸν στρατιώτας τετρακοσίους καὶ βελών πληθος παντοδαπών, ἀπέχοντος ἀπό των τειχών τοῦ τόπου 2 τούτου πέντε πλέθρα. έπειθ' ήμέρας γενομένης παρεκόμισε τὰς μηχανάς εἰς τὸν λιμένα μετά σάλπιγγος και κραυγής και τοις μεν ελάττοσιν όξυβελέσι μακράν φερομένοις άνειργε τους έργαζομένους το παρά τον λιμένα τείχος, τοις δε πετροβόλοις τάς τε μηχανάς των πολεμίων και το διά του χώματος τείχος τη μέν διέπεισε, τη δέ κατέβαλεν, ασθενές υπάρχον και ταπεινών εκείνοις τοις 3 καιροίς. άμυνομένων δέ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλοως εὐρώστως τότε μὲν όλην τὴν ἡμέραν διετέλεσαν άμφότεροι πολλά κακά καὶ δρώντες καὶ πάσχοντες. της δε νυκτός ήδη καταλαμβανούσης δ μεν Δημήτριος ταις ρυμουλκούσαις ναυσίν ἀπήγαγε τὰς μηχανας πάλιν έξω βέλους οι δε 'Ρόδιοι ξηρας ύλης καί δαδός ακάτια πληρώσαντες και πύρ ενθέμενοι το μέν πρώτον επιδιώξαντες προσέπλεον ταις μηχαναίς ταις των πολεμίων και την ύλην ύφηψαν, μετά δε ταθτα τῷ πλωτῷ χάρακι καὶ τοῖς βέλεσιν άνειρχθέντες συνηναγκάσθησαν χωρείν είς τοθπίσω. 4 της δε φλογός επισχυούσης ολίγοι μεν κατασβέσαντες επανηλθον σύν τοις σκάφεσιν, οι πλείστοι δέ καιομένων των άκατίων έξεκολύμβησαν. τῆ δ' ύστεραία κατά μεν θάλατταν ο Δημήτριος παραπλησίαν εποιήσατο την επίθεσιν, κατά δε την γην προσέταξεν άμα πανταχόθεν προσβάλλειν μετ άλαλαγμοῦ καὶ σάλπιγγος, ὅπως εἰς άγωνίαν καὶ 368

BOOK XX, 86, 1-4

however, taking advantage of calm weather at night, was me. he sailed in secretly, and after seizing the end of the mole of the great harbour he at once fortified the place, cutting it off with walls of planks and stones, and landed there four hundred soldiers and a supply of ordnance of all kinds. This point was five plethra distant from the city walls. Then at daybreak he brought his engines into the harbour with the sound of trumpets and with shouts; and with the lighter catapults, which had a long range, he drove back those who were constructing the wall along the harbour, and with the hallistac he shook or destroyed the engines of the enemy and the wall across the mole, for it was weak and low at this time. But since those from the city also fought stoutly, during that whole day both sides continued to inflict and suffer severe losses; and when night was already closing in, Demetrius by means of towboats drew his engines back out of range. The Rhodians, however, filled light boats with dry pitchy wood and placed fire in them; at first they went in pursuit and, drawing near to the engines of the enemy, lighted the wood, but afterwards, repelled by the floating boom and by the missiles, they were forced to withdraw. As the fire gained force a few put it out and sailed back with their boats, but most of them plunged into the sea as their hoats were consumed. On the following day Demetrius made a similar attack by sea, but he also gave orders to assail the city at the same time by land from all sides with shouts and sound of trumpet

1 About 500 feet.

¹ тарекорияс Wesseling: тарекорияли.

φόβον αγάγη τους 'Ροδίους, πολλών τών αντι-

σπασμάτων ὄντων.

87. Τοιαύτην δε την πολιορκίαν ποιησάμενος εφ' ήμέρας όκτω τὰς μέν μηχανός τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος τοῖς ταλαντιαίοις πετροβόλοις συνέτριψε, τοῦ δὶ διατειχίσματος τὸ μεσοπύργιον σύν αὐτοῖς τοίς πύργοις διέσεισεν. κατελάβοντο δέ και των στρατιωτών τινες μέρος του παρά τον λιμένα διατειχίσματος εφ' ους' συστραφέντες οι 'l'όδιοι μάχην συνήψαν και πολλαπλάσιοι γενόμενοι τους μέν άνείλου, τούς δ' έπανελθείν είς τουπίσω συνηνάγκασαν συνήργει δέ τοις έκ της πύλεως ή του παρά το τείχος τόπου τραχύτης, πολλών καί μεγάλων πετρών κατά το συνεχές κειμένων παρά την 2 οἰκοδομὴν έξω τοῦ τείχους. τῶν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας τούτους κομισάντων σκαφών οὐκ ὀλίγων διά την άγνοιαν εποκειλάντων οί 'Ρόδιοι ταγέως τὰ μὲν ἀκροστόλια περιέσπασαν, ὕλην δὲ ξηρὰν καὶ δάδας ταις ναυσίν ένέντες ένέπρησαν. τούτων δέ περί ταθτ' όντων οί μέν τοθ Δημητρίου στρατιώται πανταγού περιπλέοντες κλίμακας προσέφερον τοίς τείχεσι και βιαιότερον ενέκειντο, συναγωνιζομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπό τῆς γῆς πανταχόθεν καὶ συναλαλαζόν-3 των. ένθα δή πολλών παραβόλως κινδυνευσάντως καὶ συγνών ἀναβάντων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη συνίστατο καρτερά μάχη, τῶν μεν εξωθεν βιαζομένων, τῶν δ' έκ της πόλεως άθρόων παραβοηθούντων. τέλος δέ των Ροδίων εκθύμως αγωνιζομένων οι μεν επεσον τών προσαναβάντων, οί δὲ κατατραυματισθέντες έάλωσαν, έν οξς ήσαν τινές καλ των επιφανεστά-4 των ήγεμόνων. τοιούτων δε γενομένων τοις έξωθεν 1 to ods Fischer: to oo.

in order to throw the Rhodians into an agony of some.

terror because of the many distractions.

87. After carrying on this kind of siege warfare for eight days, Demetras shattered the engines of war upon the mole by means of his heavy ballistae and weakened the curtain of the cross-wall together with the towers themselves. Some of his soldiers also occupied a part of the fortifications along the harbour; the Rhodians rallying their forces joined battle against these, and now that they outnumbered the enemy, they killed some and forced the rest to withdraw. The men of the city were aided by the ruggedness of the shore along the wall, for many large rocks lay close together beside the structure outside of the wall. Of the ships which had conveyed these soldiers no small number ran aground in their ignorance; and the Rhodians at once, after stripping off the beaks, threw dry pitchy wood into the ships and burned them. While the Rhodians were so occupied. the soldiers of Demetrius sailing up on every side placed ladders against the walls and pressed on more strongly, and the troops who were attacking from the land also joined in the struggle from every side and raised the battle cry in unison. Then indeed. since many had recklessly risked their lives, and a good number had mounted the walls, a mighty battle arose, those on the outside trying to force their way in and those in the city coming to the defence with one accord. Finally, as the Rhodians contended furiously, some of the men who had mounted were thrown down and others were wounded and captured. among whom were some of their most distinguished leaders. Since such losses had befallen those who

^{*} бучная Спит: бушибан.

έλαττωμάτων ο μέν Δημήτριος ἀπεκόμισε τὰς μηχανὰς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον λιμένα καὶ τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν πλοίων καὶ μηχανῶν ἐπεσκεύασεν, οἱ δὲ Ἱρόδιοι τοὺς μὲν τελευτήσαντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἔθαψαν, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ ἀκρυστόλια τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν πετροβόλων πε-

πτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἀνωκοδόμουν.

88. Δημήτριος δέ περί την έπισκευην των μηγανών και των πλοίων ήμέρας έπτα γενόμενος και πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίων παρασκευασάμενος πάλιν ἐπέπλευσε τῷ λιμένι πασα γάρ ἡν ἡ σπουδή περί τὸ κρατήσαι τούτου καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπείας 2 άποκλείσαι τους κατά την πόλιν. γενόμενος δ' έντος βέλους τοις μέν πυρφόροις πολλοίς οδσιν είς τα διωρμισμέναι πλοία των 'Ι'οδίων ενέβαλε, τοίς δέ πετροβόλοις τὰ τείχη διέσεισε, τοῖς δ' όξυβελέσι τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν σωμάτων κατετίτρωσκε. 3 συνεχούς ούν καὶ καταπληκτικής γενομένης τής προσβολής οι μέν παρά τοις 'Ροδίοις ναύκληροι διαγωνιάσαντες περί τῶν πλοίων κατέσβεσαν τοὺς πυρφόρους, οί δε πρυτάνεις κινδυνεύοντος άλωναι τοῦ λιμένος παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν πολιτών τον ύπερ της κοινης σωτηρίας ύπομεί-4 ναι κίνδυνον. πολλών οὖν προθύμως ὑπακουόντων τρείς ναθς τὰς κρατίστας ἐπλήρωσαν ἐπιλέκτων άνδρων, οίς παρήγγειλαν πειράσθαι τοίς έμβόλοις Βυθίσαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ τὰς μηχανάς κομίζοντα τῶν σπολεμίων. ούτοι μέν ούν, καίπερ πολλών έπ' αὐτούς φερομένων βελών, ὢσάμενοι τὸ μὲν πρώτον τον σεσιδηρωμένον χάρακα διέσπασαν, τοῖς δὲ 372

fought from the outside, Demetrius withdrew his 200 m.c. engines of war to his own harbour 1 and repaired the ships and engines that had been damaged; and the Rhodians buried those of their citizens who had perished, dedicated to the gods the arms of the enemy and the beaks of the ships, and rebuilt the parts of the wall that had been overthrown by the ballistae.

88. After Demetrius had spent seven days on the repair of his engines and ships and had made all his preparations for the siege, he again attacked the harbour; for his whole effort centred upon capturing this and shutting off the people of the city from their grain supplies. When he was within range, with the fire-arrows, of which he had many, he made an attack on the ships of the Rhodians that lay at anchor, with his ballistae he shook the walls, and with his entapults he cut down any who showed themselves. Then when the attack had become continuous and terrifying, the Rhodian ship-captains, after a fierce struggle to save their ships, put out the fire-arrows, and the magistrates, since the harbour was in danger of being taken, summoned the noblest citizens to undergo the perils of war for the sake of the common When many responded with alacrity, they manned the three staunchest ships with picked men. whom they instructed to try to sink with their rams the ships that carried the engines of the enemy. These men, accordingly, pushed forward although missiles in large numbers were speeding against them; and at first they broke through the fron studded boom, and then by delivering repeated blows with

^{1 (&#}x27;p. chap. 83, 4.

[·] διωρμισμένα l'Ischer: διωρισμένα.

πλοίοις πολλάς εμβολάς δόντες και θαλάττης αὐτά πληρώσαντες δύο μέν τῶν μηχανῶν κατέβαλον, τῆς δὲ τρίτης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον εἰς τοὐπίσω τοῖς ῥύμασιν ἐλκομένης οἱ μὲν 'l'όδιοι θαρρήσαντες τοις κατωρθωμένοις θρασύτερον του 6 καθήκοντος προέπιπτον είς τον κίνδυνον. διο πολλῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεγάλων νεῶν περιχυθεισῶν καὶ τοῖς έμβόλοις πολλά μέρη των τοίχων αναρρηττουσων δ μεν ναύαρχος 'Εξήκεστος και δ τριήραρχος καί τινες άλλοι κατατραυματισθέντες ήλωσαν, του δ' άλλου πλήθους εκκολυμβήσαντος και διανηξαμένου πρός τους ίδίους μία μέν των νεών ύποχείριος έγένετο τοις περί τὸν Δημήτριον, αί δ' ἄλλαι δι-7 έφυγον τον κίνδυνον. τοιαύτης οῦν γενομένης τῆς ναυμαχίας δ μεν Δημήτριος άλλην μηχανήν κατεσκεύασε τριπλασίαν τῷ ὕψει καὶ πλάτει τῆς πρότερον, προσάγοντος δ' αὐτην πρός τον λιμένα νότος έκνεφίας επιγενόμενος τὰ μεν όρμοῦντα τῶν πλοίων συνέκλυσε, την δε μηχανήν κατέβαλε. καθ' δν δή χρόνον οί 'Ρόδιοι τῷ καιρῷ δεξιῶς χρησάμενοι πύλην ἀνοίξαντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς τὸ χῶμα κατειλη-8 φόσι. γενομένης δε μάχης επί πολύν χρόνον ίσχυρας και του μεν Δημητρίου διά τον χειμώνα μή δυναμένου βοηθήσαι, των δε Τοδίων έκ διαδοχής άγωνιζομένων ήναγκάσθησαν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὅντες 9 σχεδον τετρακόσιοι. τούτων δὲ τῶν προτερημάτων γενομένων τοις 'Ροδίοις κατέπλευσαν τῆ πόλει σύμμαχοι παρά μεν Κνωσσίων έκατον πεντήκοντα, παρά δὲ ΙΙτολεμαίου πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων,

 $^{^{1}}$ ἀναρρηττουσών Dindorf: ἀναρρηττόντων RX, ἀνορυττόντων F.

their rams upon the ships and filling them with 205 no water, they overthrew two of the engines; but when the third was drawn back with ropes by the men of Demetrius, the Rhodians, encouraged by their successes, pressed on into the battle more boldly than was prudent. And so, when many large ships crowded around them and the sides of their own ships had been shattered in many places by the rams, the admiral Execestus, the trierarch, and some others were disabled by wounds and captured; and as the rest of its crew jumped into the sea and swam to their own fellows, one of the ships came into the possession of Demetrius; but the other ships escaped from the battle. When the naval battle had turned out in this way, Demetrius constructed another machine three times the size of the former in height and width; but while he was bringing this up to the harbour, a violent storm from the south sprang up, which swept over the ships that were anchored and overthrew the engine. And at this very time the Rhodians, shrewdly availing themselves of the situation, opened a gate and sallied out upon those who had occupied the mole. A severe battle ensued lasting for a long time; and since Demetrius could not send reinforcements because of the storm, and the Rhodians, on the other hand, were fighting in relays, the king's men were forced to lay down their arms and surrender, in number about four hundred. After the Rhodians had gained these advantages there sailed in as allies for the city one hundred and fifty soldiers from the Cnossians and more than five hundred from Ptolemy,

ῶν ἦσάν τινες 'Ρόδιοι μισθοφοροῦντες παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν ἐν 'Ρόδω πολιορκίαν ἐν

τούτοις ήν.

89. Κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν 'Αγαθοκλής οὐ δυνάμενος διαλύσασθαι πρός τους περί Δεινοκράτην φυγάδας ανέζευξεν επ' αὐτούς μεθ' ής είχε δυνάμεως, νομίζων άναγκαιον υπάρχειν αυτώ διακινδυνεύειν καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων. συνηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ πεζοὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους τῶν 2 πεντακισχιλίων, ίππεις δέ είς οκτακοσίους. οί δέ περί Δεινοκράτην φυγάδες δρώντες την τών πολεμίων δρμήν ἄσμενοι κατήντησαν είς την μάχην, όντες πολλαπλάσιοι πεζοί μέν γὰρ ὑπῆρχον πλείους των δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δ' οὐκ έλάττους τρισχιλίων. αντιστρατοπεδευσάντων δ' αὐτῶν περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Τόργιον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παραταξαμένων ἐπ' ολίγον μὲν χρόνον συνέστη καρτερά μάχη διά τὰς ἀμφοτέρων προθυμίας μετά δέ ταθτα τών πρός τον Δεινοκράτην διαφερομένων τινές, όντες πλείους των δισχιλίων, μετεβάλοντο πρός του τύραννου καὶ τοῖς φυγάσιν αἴτιοι κατ-3 έστησαν της ήττης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετ' 'Αγαθοκλέους όντες πολύ μαλλον έθάρρησαν, οί δε Δεινοκράτει συναγωνιζόμενοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ νομίσαντες πλείους είναι τους άφισταμένους πρός φυγήν ώρμησαν. είθ' ὁ μὲν 'Αγαθοκλής διώξας αὐτούς μέχρι τινός και τοῦ φονεύειν ἀποσχόμενος διεπέμψατο πρός τους ήττημένους, άξιων παύσασθαι μέν της

BOOK XX, 88, 9-89, 3

some of whom were Rhodians serving as mercenaries were in the king's army.

This was the state of the siege of Rhodes.1

89. In Sielly Agathoeles, since he had been unable to make terms with Deinocrates and the exiles, took the field against them with what forces he had, believing that it was necessary for him to fight a battle with them and stake everything on the result. Not more than five thousand foot soldiers followed him and horsemen to the number of eight hundred. Deinocrates and the exiles, when they saw the move made by the enemy, gladly came out to meet him in battle, being many times as strong; for their foot soldiers came to more than twenty-five thousand and their cavalry to not less than three thousand. When the armies had encamped opposite each other near the place called forgium, and then were drawn up against each other in battle array, for a short time there was a stubborn buttle because of the eagerness of both sides; but then some of those who were at odds with Deinocrates, more than two thousand in number, went over to the tyrant and were responsible for the defeat of the exiles. For those who were with Agathoeles gained much more confidence, and those who were fighting on the side of Deinocrates were dismayed and, overestimating the number of the deserters, broke into flight. Then Agathoeles, after pursuing them for a certain distance and refraining from slaughter, sent envoys to the defeated and asked them to put an end to the quarrel and return

¹ Continued in chap. 91. ² Continued from chap. 79. ^a The exact position is unknown.

¹ Τόργιον Ortelius and Cluverius from Hesychius: Γόργιον RX, Γοργόνιον F.

διαφοράς, καταπορευθήναι δ' είς τὰς πατρίδας. είληφέναι γάρ αὐτούς πείραν τοῦ μηδέποτ' αν δύνασθαι περιγενέσθαι τούς φυγάδας άγωνιζομένους πρός αὐτόν, ὅτε καὶ νῦν πολλαπλασίους ὄντας 4 αὐτοὺς ἡττῆσθαι. τῶν δὲ φυγάδων οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς απαντες από της φυγης διεσώθησαν είς "Αμβικας χωρίου, των δέ πεζών ένιοι μέν νυκτός έπινενομένης διέδρασαν, οί δε πλείους καταλαβόμενοι λόφου και την μεν έκ του διαγωνίζεσθαι νίκην απελπίσαντες, επιθυμοθίτες δε συγγενών φίλων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τών ἐν ταύτη καλών διελύ-5 σαντο πρός 'Αγαθοκλέα. λαβόντων ούν αὐτῶν πίστεις καὶ καταβάντων ἀπό τινος ἐρυμνοῦ λόφου τὰ μέν ὅπλα παρείλετο, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν περιστήσας απαντας κατηκόντισεν, όντας περί έπτακισχιλίους, ώς Τίμαιός φησιν, ώς δ' ένιοι γράφουσιν, είς τετρακισχιλίους αεί γαρ ο τύραννος ούτος πίστεως μέν καὶ τῶν ὅρκων κατεφρόνει, τὴν δ' ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν οὐκ έκ της περί αὐτον δυνάμεως, άλλ' ἐκ της τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀσθενείας περιεποιείτο, πλείον δεδοικώς τούς συμμάχους η τούς πολεμίους.

90. Γην δε αντιτεταγμένην δύναμιν οὕτω διαφθείρας προσεδέξατο τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους τῶν φυγάδων καὶ πρὸς Δεινοκράτην διαλυθεὶς στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν μέρους τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέδειξε καὶ διετέλεσε πιστεύων τὰ μέγιστα. θαυμάσειε δ' ἄν τις ἐν τούτοις τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα, πῶς πρὸς ἄπαντας ὑπόπτως ἔχων καὶ μηδέποτε μηδενὶ βεβαίως πιστεύσας πρὸς μόνον Δεινοκράτην διετήρησε τὴν φιλίαν μέχρι τελευτῆς. ὁ δὲ Δεινοκράτης προδοὺς τοὺς συμμάχους τὸν μὲν Πασίφιλον ἐν τῆ Γέλα συναρπάσας ἀπ-

to their native cities; for, he said, they had found by sis we. experience that the exiles would never be able to prevail in a battle with him, seeing that even on this occasion, although they were many times more numerous, they had been defeated. Of the exiles, all the horsemen survived the flight and came safe into Ambicae 1; but as for the foot soldiers, although some escaped when night came on, most of them after occupying a hill made terms with Agathocles, for they had lost hope of victory by fighting and longed for their relatives and friends and for their fatherland and its comforts. Now when they had received pledges of good faith and had come down from the hill-fort, such as it was, Agathoeles took their arms; and then, stationing his army about them, he shot them all down, their number being about seven thousand, as Timacus says, but as some have written, about four thousand. Indeed, this tyrant always scorned faith and his oaths: and he maintained his own nower, not by the strength of his armed forces but by the weakness of his subjects, fearing his allies more than his enemies.

90. When he had destroyed in this manner the army that had been arrayed against him, Agathoeles received any exiles who survived and, making terms with Deinocrates, appointed him general over part of his army and continued to entrust the most important matters to him. In this connection one might well wonder why Agathoeles, who was suspicious of everyone and never completely trusted anybody, continued his friendship toward Deinocrates alone until death. But Deinocrates, after betraying his allies, seized and slew Pasiphilus in Gela and handed the

¹ Or Ambycae. The place is unknown.

έκτεινεν, τὰ δὲ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐνεχείρισεν ᾿Αγαθοκλεῖ, διετῆ χρόνον ἀναλώσας εἰς τὴν τῶν

πολεμίων παράθεσιν.

3 Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμιιοι μὲν Παιλιγνους καταπολεμήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἀφείλοντο καί τισι τῶν δοξάντων τὰ Ῥωμαίων πεφρονηκέναι μετέδωκαν τῆς πολιτείας. μετὰ δὲ ταιτα Σαμνιτῶν τὴν Φαλερνιτιν πορθούντων ἀνέζευξαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ υπατοι καὶ γενομένης παρατάξεως προετέρησαν οἱ Ὑωμαιοι. σημείας μὲν οῦν είλον εἴκοσι, στρατιώτας δ' ἐζώγρησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισχιλίους. τῶν δ' ὑπάτων εὐθὺς ἐλόντων πόλιν Βῶλαν, Γέλλιος Γάιος ὁ τῶν Σαμνιτῶν ἡγεμὼν ἐφάνη μετὰ στρατιωτῶν έξακισχιλίων. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς αὐτός τε ὁ Γέλλιος ἐάλω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σαμνιτῶν οἱ πλειστοι μὲν κατεκόπησαν, τινὲς δε καὶ ζῶντες συνελήφθησαν. οἱ δ' υπατοι τοιούτοις προτερήμασι χρησάμενοι τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων τὰς άλούσας ἀνεκτήσαντο Σώραν, 'Λρπίναν καὶ Σερεννίαν.

91. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ῆρχε Φερεκλῆς, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Πόπλιος Σεμπριόνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Σολπίκιος, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη παρὰ τοῦς 'Ηλείοις ἐνάτη πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατὸν δέκα, καθ' ῆν ἐνίκα στάδιον 'Ανδρομένης Κορίνθιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δημήτριος

¹ Continued in chap. 101.

² Continued from chap. 80. Cp. Livy, 9, 44.

¹ Παλιγνούς Fischer in apparatus (ep. Ptolemaeus, Geography, 3. 1. 16. 55): Παλικίους ΚΧ, Παληγίους F.

The Ager Falernus is in northern Campania, a little to the west of the Ager Stellatinus where Livy places these Samnite raids.

strongholds and the cities to Agathoeles, spending some

two years in the delivery of the enemy.1

In Italy 2 the Romans defeated the Paeligni and took their land, and to some of those who seemed well disposed toward Rome, they granted citizenship. Thereafter, since the Sammites were plundering Falernitis,3 the consuls took the field against them, and in the battle that followed the Romans were victorious. They took twenty standards and made prisoners of more than two thousand soldiers. The consuls at once took the city of Bola, but Gellius Gaius, the leader of the Sammites, appeared with six thousand soldiers. A hard fought battle took place in which Gellius himself was made prisoner, and of the other Samnites most were cut down but some were captured alive. The consuls, taking advantage of such victories, recovered those allied cities that had been captured: Sora, Harpina, and Serennia.4

91. When that year had passed, Pherceles became 201 ke, archon in Athens and in Rome Publius Sempronius and Publius Sulpicius received the consulship ; and in Elis the Olympian Games were celebrated for the one hundred and nineteenth time, at which celebration Andromenes of Corinth won the footrace. While

Pherecles was arelion in 304/3 a.c. Livy, 9, 45, 4, gives the consult of 804 a.c. as P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Sem-

pronius Sophus.

⁴ Livy (9. 44) places three battles in this year, the first indecisive, the other two decisive Roman victories with 21 standards captured in one and 26 in the other. According to him Bovianum (not Bola, which is unknown) was captured after the second battle (not between them), the Samulte lender is named Statius Gellius (not Gellius Ciaius), and the three cities recovered are Sora, Arphum, and Cesennia (or Censennia). Dodorus returns to Italian affairs in chap. 101. 5.

μέν 'Ρόδον πολιορκών, ἐπὶ ταῖς κατὰ θάλατταν προσβολαίς αποτυγχάνων, από της γης διέγνω τας 2 επιθέσεις ποιείσθαι. παρασκευασάμενος ούν ύλης παντοίας πλήθος κατεσκεύασε μηχανήν την καλουμένην έλέπολιν, ὑπεραίρουσαν πολὺ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γενομένων. ἐσχαρίου γὰρ ὅντος τετραγώνου την μεν πλευράν εκάστην ύπεστήσατο πηχών σχεδον πεντήκοντα, συμπεπηγυΐαν έκ τετραγώνων ξύλων σιδήρω δεδεμένων την δε ανα μέσον χώρων διέλαβε δοκοις άλλήλων απεχούσαις ώσανει πήχυν, όπως παράστασις ή τοις προωθείν την μηχανήν 3 μέλλουσιν. το δε παν βάρος ην υπότροχον, στερεοίς καὶ μεγάλοις όκτω τροχοίς ὑπειλημμένον τὰ γὰρ πάχη των ἀψίδων ὑπῆρχε πηχων δυείν, σεσιδηρωμένα λεπίσιν ζοχυραίς. πρός δε την εκ πλαγίας μετάθεσιν ήσαν άντίστρεπτα πεπραγματευμένα, δι' ων ή πασα μηχανή ραδίως παντοίαν ύπελάμβανε 4 κίνησιν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν γωνιῶν ὑπῆρχον κίονες ἴσοι τῶ μήκει, βραχὺ λείποντες τῶν ἐκατὸν πηχῶν, ούτως συννενευκότες είς άλληλους ώς του παντός κατασκευάσματος όντος έννεαστέγου τὴν μεν πρώτην στέγην ὑπάρχειν ἀκαινῶν³ τεσσαράκοντα τριῶν,

1 προωθείν Reiske: παρωθείν.

3 ἀκαινῶν Fischer: κλινῶν.

¹ Continued from chap. 88. For the siege of Rhodes ep. Plutarch, Demetrius, 21-22.

3 About 75 feet. Tarn (Hellenistic Military and Naval

την έκ πλαγίας μετάθεσω Reiske: ταις έκ πλαγίας μεταθέσεσω RX, ταις πλαγίαις μεταθέσεσω Γ.

Literally, "taker of cities." Cp. the helepolis described in chap. 48. 2. According to Vitruvius, 10. 16. 4, this helepolis was built by Epimachus of Athens. Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 21. 1, and Athenaeus in Wescher, Polioredlique, pp. 27 ff.

these held office, Demetrius,1 who was besieging to u.c. Rhodes, failing in his assaults by sea, decided to make his attacks by land. Having provided therefore a large quantity of material of all kinds, he built an engine called the helepolis,* which far surpassed in size those which had been constructed before it. Each side of the square platform he made almost fifty cubits in length, framed together from squared timber and fastened with iron; the space within he divided by bars set about a cubit 4 from each other so that there might be standing space for those who were to push the machine forward. The whole structure was movable, mounted on eight great solid wheels; the width of their rims was two cubits and these were overlaid with heavy iron plates. To permit motion to the side, pivots had been constructed, by means of which the whole device was easily moved in any direction. From each corner there extended upward beams equal in length and little short of a hundred cubits long, inclining toward each other in such a way that, the whole structure being nine storeys high, the first storey had an area of forty-three hundred square feet and the topmost

Developments, pp. 15-16) suggests that there was a shorter Maccdonian cubit of about 13 inches. This would reduce all the figures given in the notes by about 30 per cent, which seems probable in most cases, but impossible in the spacing of the crossbeams, see next note.

About 18 inches. Probably these crossbars or beams were below the platform, which would protect the men who stood on the ground and moved the tower by pushing on the bars. It is possible, however, that the "platform" was simply an open frame of cross timbers, between which the men stood.

i.e. the axles were connected to the frame by vertical

pivots, castor fashion.

5 την δ' ανωτάτω έννέα. τὰς δὲ τρεῖς ἐπιφανεῖς1 πλευράς της μηχανής έξωθεν συνεκάλυψε λεπίσι σιδηραῖς καθηλωμέναις, ΐνα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πυρ-φόρων βλάπτηται. θυρίδας δ'είχον αι στέγαι κατὰ πρόσωπον, τοις μεγέθεσι καὶ τοις σχήμασι πρός τας ιδιότητας των μελλόντων αφίεσθαι βελών άρμο-6 ζούσας, αθται δέ είχον καλύμματα διά μηχανής άνασπώμενα, δι' ων ασφάλειαν ελάμβανον οί κατά τας στέγας περί την άφεσιν των βελων αναστρεφόμενοι ήσαν μεν γάρ εκ βυρσών περιερραμμένα, πλήρη δε ερίων, είς το τῆ πληγη ενδιδόναι των 7 λιθοβόλων. έκάστη δὲ τῶν στεγῶν είχε δύο κλίμακας πλατείας, ών τη μέν πρός την άνακομιδην τῶν χρησίμων, τῆ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κατάβασιν ἐχρῶντο πρός το χωρίς θορύβου παν ύπηρετείσθαι. οί δέ μέλλοντες κινήσειν την μηχανήν έξελέχθησαν έξ άπάσης της δυνάμεως οι ταις ρώμαις διαφέροντες 8 ἄνδρες τρισχίλιοι και τετρακόσιοι τούτων δ' οί μεν εντός αποληφθέντες, οι δ' εκ των όπισθεν μερών παριστάμενοι προεώθουν, πολλά της τέχνης συνεργούσης είς την κίνησιν. κατεσκεύασε δε καί χελώνας τὰς μὲν χωστρίδας, τὰς δὲ κριοφόρους καὶ στοάς δι' ών εμελλον οί τοις εργοις προσιόντες έλεύσεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἐπιστρέψειν ἀσφαλώς. τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πληρώμασιν ἀνεκάθαρε τὸν τόπον έπὶ σταδίους τέτταρας, δι' ὧν ἔμελλεν προσάξειν

ἐπιφανεῖς added by Fischer, cp. Pol. 8. 4. 8.
 ² τῆ πληγῆ Dindorf: τὴν πληγὴν.
 ² προεώθουν Wesseling: προσώθουν.
 ἀνεκάθαρε Fischer: ἀνεκάθαιρε ΚΧ, ἀνεκάθηρε F.

¹ The tower then would be nearly 150 feet high, about 30 feet square at the top and $65\frac{1}{2}$ feet square at the base. If 384

BOOK XX, 91, 4-8

storey of nine hundred.1 The three exposed sides not not of the muchine he covered externally with iron plates nailed on so that it should receive no injury from fire earriers. On each storey there were ports on the front, in size and shape fitted to the individual characteristics of the missiles that were to be shot forth. These ports had shutters, which were lifted by a mechanical device and which secured the safety of the men on the platforms who were busy serving the artillery; for the shutters were of bides stitched together and were filled with wool so that they would yield to the blows of the stones from the ballistae. Each of the storeys had two wide stairways, one of which they used for bringing up what was needed and the other for descending, in order that all might he taken care of without confusion. Those who were to move the machine were selected from the whole army, three thousand four hundred 2 men excelling in strength; some of them were enclosed within the machine while others were stationed in its rear, and they pushed it forward, the skilful design aiding greatly in its motion. He also constructed penthouses- some to protect the men who were filling the most, others to carry rams - and covered passages through which those who were going to their labours might go and return safely. Using the crews of the ships, he cleared a space four stades wide through which he planned to advance the siege engines he

the platform was 75 feet square, a ledge about 5 feet wide would be left about the base of the tower.

³ Fither they worked in relays or this figure includes all the men employed for moving the various machines, fowers, and penthouses. Allowing five square feet to the man, a minimum if they were to work effectively, 3400 men would occupy 17,000 sq. ft., three times the area of the helopolis.

τὰς κατασκευασθείσας μηχανάς, ὤστε γίνεσθαι τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ μῆκος μεσοπυργίων έξ καὶ πύργων ἐπτά. τὸ δ' ἠθροισμένον πλῆθος τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῖς ἔργοις προσιόντων οὐ πολὺ ἐλείπετο τῶν τρισ-

μυρίων. 92. Διόπερ τῆ πολυχειρία τάχιον τῆς προσδοκίας άπάντων επιτελουμένων φοβερός ήν ο Δημήτριος τοις 'Ροδίοις. οὐ μόνον γὰρ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν μη-χανῶν καὶ τὸ πληθος τῆς ἠθροισμένης δυνάμεως ἔξέπληττεν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως βίαων 2 καὶ φιλότεχνον εν ταις πολιορκίαις. εὐμήχανος γὰρ ών καθ' ύπερβολην έν ταις επινοίαις και πολλά παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων τέχνην παρευρίσκων ώνομάσθη μεν πολιορκητής, τὴν δ' εν ταῖς προσ-βολαῖς ὑπεροχὴν καὶ βίαν τοιαύτην εἶχεν ώστε δόξαι μηδέν ούτως όχυρον είναι τείχος ο δύναιτ' αν την απ' εκείνου τοις πολιορκουμένοις ασφά-3 λειαν παρέχεσθαι. ην δέ καὶ κατά το μέγεθυς τοῦ σώματος καὶ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος ήρωικὸν ἀποφαίνων άξίωμα, ώστε καὶ τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους τῶν ξένων θεωρούντας εὐπρέπειαν κεκοσμημένην ὑπεροχή βασιλική θαυμάζειν και παρακολουθείν έν ταις έξόδοις 4 ένεκεν της θέας. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὑπήρχε καὶ τή ψυχή μετέωρος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής καὶ καταφρονών ού των πολλών μόνον, άλλά και των έν ταις δυναστείαις όντων, καὶ τὸ πάντων ιδιώτατον, κατά μέν την ειρήνην έν μέθαις διέτριβε καί συμποσίοις έχουσιν ορχήσεις καὶ κώμους καὶ τὸ σύνολον εζήλου την μυθολογουμένην ποτέ γενέσθαι κατ' άνθρώπους τοῦ Διονύσου διάθεσιν, κατά δὲ τοὺς πολέμους ένεργος ήν και νήφων, ώστε παρά πάντας τούς έργατευομένους εναγώνιον παρέχεσθαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ

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had prepared, wide enough so that it covered a front source, of six curtains and seven towers. The number of craftsmen and labourers collected was not much less

than thirty thousand

92. As everything, therefore, because of the many hands was finished sooner than was expected, Demetrius was regarded with alarm by the Rhodians; for not only did the size of the siege engines and the number of the army which had been gathered stun them, but also the king's energy and ingenuity in conducting sieges. For, being exceedingly ready in invention and devising many things beyond the art of the master builders, he was called Poliorectes 1; and he displayed such superiority and force in his attacks that it seemed that no wall was strong enough to furnish safety from him for the besieged. in stature and in beauty he displayed the dignity of a hero, so that even those strangers who had come from a distance, when they beheld his comeliness arrayed in royal splendour, marvelled at him and followed him as he went abroad in order to gaze at him. Furthermore, he was haughty in spirit and proud and looked down not only upon common men but also upon those of royal estate; and what was most peculiar to him, in time of peace he devoted his time to winebibbing and to drinking bouts accompanied by dancing and revels, and in general he emulated the conduct said by mythology to have been that of Dionysus among men; but in his wars he was active and sober, so that beyond all others who practised this profession he devoted both body

i.e. "stormer of cities." Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 2-4, for his character.

δ τὴν ψυχήν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτου βέλη τὰ μέγιστα συνετελέσθη καὶ μηχαναὶ παντοῖαι πολὺ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις γενομένας ὑπεραἰρουσαι καὶ σκάφη δὲ μέγιστα καθείλκυσεν οὖτος μετὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν

93. Οί δε 'Ρόδιοι θεωροῦντες την προκοπήν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔργων κατεσκεύασαν ἐντὸς

ταύτην καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν.

έτερον τείχος παράλληλον τῷ μέλλοντι πονείν κατὰ τας προσβολάς. έχρωντο δε λίθοις καθαιρούντες τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν περίβολον καὶ τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας, έτι δε των ίερων ένια, τοις θεοις ευξάμενοι καλ-2 λίονα κατασκευάσειν σωθείσης της πόλεως. έξέπεμψαν δε και των νεών εννέα. διακελευσάμενοι τούς άφηγουμένους πανταχή πλείν και παραδόξως επιφαινομένους α μεν βυθίζειν των αλισκομένων πλοίων, α δε κατάνειν είς την πόλιν. εκπλευσάντων δέ τούτων και τριχή διαιρεθέντων Δαμόφιλος μέν έχων ναθς τὰς καλουμένας παρά 'Ι'οδίοις φυλακίδας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κάρπαθον καὶ πολλά μέν πλοῖα τῶν Δημητρίου καταλαβών, ἃ μὲν τοῖς ἐμβόλοις θραύων κατεπόντιζεν, α δ' ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κομίζων ένεπύριζεν, εκλεγόμενος των σωμάτων τὰ χρησιμώτατα, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ τῶν κομιζόντων τοὺς ἐκ της νήσου καρπούς κατήγαγεν είς την πατρίδα.

3 Μενέδημος δε τριῶν ἀφηγούμενος τριημιολιῶν πλεύσας τῆς Λυκίας ἐπὶ τὰ Πάταρα καὶ καταλαβιὰν όρμοῦσαν ναῦν τοῦ πληρώματος ἐπὶ γῆς ὅντος ἐνεπύρισε τὸ σκάφος, πολλὰ δὲ πλοῖα τῶν κομιζόντων τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποχείρια

and mind to the task. For it was in his time that the sounce greatest weapons were perfected and engines of all kinds far surpassing those that had existed among others; and this man launched the greatest ships after this siege 1 and after the death of his father.

93. When the Rhodians saw the progress of the enemy's siege works, they built a second wall inside parallel to the one that was on the point of failing under the attacks. They used stones obtained by tearing down the theatre's outer wall and the adjacent houses, and also some of the temples, vowing to the gods that they would build finer ones when the city had been saved. They also sent out nine of their ships, giving the commanders orders to sail in every direction and, appearing unexpectedly, to sink some of the ships they intercepted and bring others to the city. After these had sailed out and had been divided into three groups, Damophilus, who had ships of the kind called by the Rhodians "guardships," sailed to Carpathos :; and finding there many of Demetrius' ships, he sank some, shattering them with his rams, and some he beached and burnt after selecting the most useful men from their crews, and not a few of those that were transporting the grain from the island, he brought back to Rhodes. Menedemus, who commanded three light undecked ships,2 sailed to Patara in Lycia; and finding at anchor there a ship whose crew was on shore, he set the hull on fire; and he took many of the freighters that were earrying provisions to the army and dispatched them

¹ Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 31, 1, 32, 2, 43, 3-5.

² An island between Rhodes and Crete.

Literally, three "one and a halves," perhaps ships with one and one half banks of ours; or more probably, with half the ours manned by two men, half by one.

4 λαβὼν ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον. εἶλε δὲ καὶ τετρήρη πλέουσαν μὲν ἐκ Κιλικίας, ἔχουσαν δ' ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀποσκευὴν ῆν ἡ γυνὴ Δημητρίου Φίλα παρασκευασαμένη φιλοτιμότερον ἀπεστάλκει τἀνδρί. τὰν μὲν οὖν ἱματισμὸν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἰγυπτον, οὐσῶν τῶν στολῶν ἀλουργῶν καὶ βασιλεῖ φορεῖν πρεπουσῶν, τὴν δὲ ναῦν ἐνεώλκησεν καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἀπέδοτο τούς τ' ἐκ τῆς τετρήρους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων τῶν 5 ἀλόντων. τῶν δ' ὑπολοίπων νεῶν τριῶν 'Λμύντας ἡγούμενος ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ νήσων καὶ πολλοῖς πλοίοις περιτυχὼν κομίζουσι τὰ πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς ἀρμόζοντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἃ μὲν αὐτῶν κατέδυσεν, ἃ δὲ κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐν οῖς ἑάλωσαν καὶ

τεχνίται τῶν ἀξιολόγων καὶ πρὸς βέλη καὶ καταπέλτας ἐμπειρία διαφέροντες ἔνδεκα.

λευόν τινες τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς ἀντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου κατασπάσαι, δεινὸν εἶναι λέγοντες ἐν ἴσω τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἐφ' οῖς ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτήσας τούτοις μὲν ὡς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἐπετίμησεν, τῶν δὲ περὶ ἀντίγονον τιμῶν οὐδεμίαν μετεκίνησεν, καλῶς πρός τε δόξαν καὶ τὸ τουμφέρον βουλευσάμενος. ἢ τε γὰρ μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ἐν δημοκρατία κρίσεως παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαίνων ἐτύγχανε, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι μεταμελείας τὰς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεις οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεδειγμένας εὔνοιαν εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐλευθεροῦντες τὴν διὰ τῆς πείρας φανεῖσαν βεβαιοτάτην εἰς ἀμοιβὴν χάριτος ἐφαί-

6 Μετά δε ταῦτα εκκλησίας συναχθείσης συνεβού-

δόξαν. 390

to Rhodes. He also captured a quadrireme that was some. sailing from Cilicia and had on board royal robes and the rest of the outfit that Demetrius' wife Phila had with great pains magle ready and sent off for her husband.1 The clothing Damophilus sent to Egypt since the garments were purple and proper for a king to wear; but the ship he hauled up on land, and he sold the sailors, both those from the quadrireme and those from the other captured ships. Amyntas, who was in command of the three remaining ships, made for islands where he fell in with many freighters carrying to the enemy materials useful for the engines of war; he sank some of these and some he brought to the city. On these ships were also captured eleven famous engineers, man of outstanding skill in making missiles and catapults.

Thereafter, when an assembly had been convened, some advised that the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius should be pulled down, saying that it was absurd to honour equally their besiegers and their benefactors. At this the people were angry and consured these men as erring, and they altered none of the honours awarded to Antigonus, having made a wise decision with a view both to fame and to self interest. For the magnanimity and the soundness of this action in a democracy won plaudits from all others and repentance from the besiegers; for while the latter were setting free the cities throughout Greece, which had displayed no goodwill at all toward their benefactors, they were manifestly trying to enslave the city that in practice showed itself most

¹ Cp. chap. 53.

νοντο καταδουλούμενοι πρός τε το παράδοξον της τύχης, εὶ συμβαίη την πόλιν άλωναι, κατελείπετ αὐτοῖς προς παραίτησιν της τηρηθείσης ὑπ' αὐτῶν ψιλίας ἀνάμνησις. ταῦτα μἐν οὖν τοῖς 'Ροδίοις

επράχθη συνετώς.

91. Δημητρίου δε δια των μεταλλέων ύπορύξαντος το τείχος των αυτομόλων τις εμήνυσε τοίς πολιορκουμένοις ώς οί ταις ύπονομαις χρώμενοι 2 σχεδόν έντός είσι τοῦ τείχους. διόπερ οί 'Ρόδιοι τάφρον δρύξαντες βαθείαν, παράλληλον τῷ δοκοῦντι πεσείσθαι τείχει, ταχύ καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς μεταλλείαις χρώμενοι συνήψαν ύπο γήν τοίς έναντίοις και δι-3 εκώλυσαν της είς τουμπροσθεν πορείας. των δέ διορυγμάτων παρ' αμφοτέροις τηρουμένων έπεχείρησάν τινες των παρά του Δημητρίου διαφθείρειν γρήμασι του τεταγμένου έπι της φυλακής ύπο τών Ι'οδίων 'Λθηναγόραν ούτος δ' ήν Μιλήσιος μέν τὸ γένος, ύπο Πτολεμαίου δ' έξαπεσταλμένος ήγεμών ι των μισθοφόρων. ἐπαγγειλάμενος δὲ προδώσειν συνετάξαθ' ήμέραν καθ' ην έδει παρά Δημητρίου πεμφθήναι τινα των αξιολόγων ήγεμόνων του νυκτός αναβησόμενου δια του δρύγματος είς την πόλιν, όπως κατασκέψηται τον τόπον τον μέλλουτα 5 δέξασθαι τους στρατιώτας. είς έλπίδας δε μεγάλας άγαγών τούς περί Δημήτριον εμήνυσε τη βουλή. και πεμψαντος του βασιλέως των περί αυτον φίλων 'Αλέξανδρον τον Μακεδόνα τοῦτον μέν ἀναβάντα διά της διώρυχος συνέλαβον οί Τόδιοι, τον δ' Αθηναγόραν εστεφάνωσαν χρυσώ στεφάνω και δωρεάν έδωκαν άργυρίου τάλαντα πέντε, σπεύδοντες και των άλλων μισθοφόρων και ξένων εκκαλείσθαι την πρός τον δήμον εθνοιαν.

constant in repaying favours; and as protection source, against the sudden shift of fortune if the war should result in the capture of Rhodes, the Rhodians retained as a means of gaining mercy the memory of the friendship that they had preserved. These things,

then, were done prudently by the Rhodians.

94. When Demetrius had undermined the wall by using his sappers, one of the deserters informed the besieged that those who were working underground were almost within the walls. Therefore the Rhodians by digging a deep trench parallel to the wall which was expected to collapse and by quickly undertaking mining operations themselves, made contact with their opponents underground and prevented them from advancing farther. Now the mines were closely watched by both sides, and some of Demetrius' men tried to bribe Athenagoras, who had been given command of the guard by the Rhodians. This man was a Milesian by descent, sent by Ptolemy as commander of the mercenaries.1 Promising to turn traitor he set a day on which one of the ranking leaders should be sent from Demetrius to go by night through the mine up into the city in order to inspect the position where the soldiers would assemble. But after leading Demetrius on to great hopes, he disclosed the matter to the council; and when the king sent one of his friends, Alexander the Macedonian, the Rhodians captured him as he came up through the mine. They crowned Athenagoras with a golden crown and gave him a gift of five talents of silver. their object being to stimulate loyalty to the city on the part of the other men who were mercenaries and foreigners.

¹ Cp. chap, 88. 9.

95. Δημήτριος δέ των τε μηχανών αὐτώ τέλος έγουσών καὶ τοῦ πρός τὸ τείχος τόπου παντός ανακαθαρθέντος την μεν ελέπολιν μέσην έστησε, τας δέ χωστρίδας χελώνας επιδείλεν, ούσας οκτώ. κατέστησεν δ' είς εκάτερου μέρος της μηχανής τέτταρας και τούτων έκάστη συνήψεν στοάν μίαν είς το δύνασθαι μετ' ασφαλείας επιτελείν το προσταττόμενον τους είσιόντας τε καὶ πάλιν εξιόντας. κριοφόρους δε δύο πολλαπλασίας τοις μεγέθεσιν. είχε γάρ έκατέρα δοκον πηχών έκατον είκοσι, σεσιδηρωμένην και την εμβολήν εγουσαν παραπλησίαν νεως εμβόλω, και προωθουμένην μεν ευκινήτως, υπότροχου δέ και την εναγώνιου ενέργειαν λαμβάνουσαν δι' ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ χιλίων. 2 μέλλων δε προσάγειν τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι τοὺς μέν πετροβόλους και τους όξυβελείς παρήνεγκε της έλεπόλεως είς έκάστην στέγην τους άρμοζοντας. 3 έπι δέ τους λιμένας και τους πλησίον τόπους απέστειλε την ναυτικήν δύναμιν, προς δε το λοιπον τείγος το δυνάμενον προσβολάς δέξασθαι το πεζον 4 στρατόπεδον επιδιείλεν. επειτα δε πρός εν παρακέλευσμα καὶ σημείον πάντων συναλαλαξάντων πανταχόθεν τῆ πόλει προσβολάς ἐποιεῖτο. διασείοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς κριοῖς καὶ τοῖς πετροβόλοις τὰ τείγη παρεγενήθησαν Κνιδίων πρέσβεις, άξιούντες επισχείν και πείσειν επαγγελλόμενοι τούς Ροδίους δέχεσθαι τὰ δυνατώτατα τῶν προσο ταγμάτων. ἀνέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν

¹ els after ούσας omitted by Hertlein.
2 άκατέρα δοκόν Reiske: άκατέραν.

BOOK XX, 95, 1-5

95. Demetrius, when his engines of war were com- not me. pleted and all the space before the walls was cleared, stationed the helepolis in the centre, and assigned positions to the penthouses, eight in number, which were to protect the sappers. He placed four of these on each side of the helepolis and connected with each of them one covered passage so that the men who were going in and out might accomplish their assigned tasks in safety; and he brought up also two enormous penthouses in which battering rams were mounted. For each shed held a ram with a length of one hundred and twenty cubits, sheathed with from and striking a blow like that of a ship's ram; and the ram was moved with ease, being mounted on wheels and receiving its motive power in battle from not less than a thousand men.1 When he was ready to advance the engines against the walls, he placed on each storey of the helepolis ballistae and catapults of appropriate size," stationed his fleet in position to attack the harbours and the adjacent areas, and distributed his infantry along such parts of the wall as could be attacked. Then, when all at a single command and signal had raised the battle cry together, he launched attacks on the city from every side. While he was shaking the walls with the rams and the ballistae, Cnidian envoys arrived, asking him to withhold his attack and promising to persuade the Rhodians to accept the most feasible of his demands. The king broke off the attack, and the envoys carried on

Cp. chap. 48, 3.

A ram 180 feet long would probably buckle in use in spite of the iron reinforcement; but see the footnote on chap, 91. 2 for the possibility that the cubit used here is shorter than the Attic standard. Cp. the rams used by the Romans before Carthage in 149 s.c., Appian, Punic Wars, 98.

πρέσβεων δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε πολλὰ διαλεχθέντων πέρας οὐ δυναμένων συμφωνῆσαι πάλιν ἐνηργεῖτο τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας. καὶ Δημήτριος μὲν κατέβαλε τὸν στερεώτατον τῶν πύργων, ἀμκοδομημένον ἐκ λίθων τετραπέδων, καὶ μεσοπύργιον ὅλον διέσεισεν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐν τῆ πόλει πάροδον ἔχειν ἐπὶ

τας ἐπάλξεις κατά τοῦτον τον τόπον.

96. Έν δέ ταις αὐταις ήμέραις Πτολεμαίος ό βασιλεύς απέστειλε τοις 'Ροδίοις πλοίων πλήθος των την άγοραν κομιζόντων, έν οίς ήσαν σίτου τριάκοντα μυριάδες άρταβών σύν τοις δαπρίοις. 2 προσφερομένων δ' αὐτῶν πρός την πόλιν ἐπεχείρησε Δημήτριος αποστέλλειν σκάφη τὰ κατάξοντα πρός τήν αύτοῦ στρατοπεδείαν. φοροῦ δὲ πνεύματος αύτοις επιγενομένου ταθτα μέν πλήρεσι τοις ίστίοις φερόμενα κατηνέχθη πρός τους οικτίους λιμένας, οί δ' ύπο Δημητρίου πεμφθέντες επανήλθον απρακτοι. 3 επεμιβε δε τοις Ροδίοις και Κάσανδρος κριθών μεδίμνους μυρίους και Λυσίμαχος πυρών μεδίμνους τετρακισμυρίους και κριθών τούς ίσους. τηλικαύτης ούν χορηγίας τοις κατά την πόλιν γενομένης ήδη κάμνοντες ταις ψυχαις οι πολιορκούμενοι πάλιν άνεθάρρησαν καὶ κρίναντες συμφέρειν ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς μηγαναίς των πολεμίων πυρφύρων τε πλήθος παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ τοὺς πετροβόλους καὶ τοὺς όξυ-4 βελείς εστησαν απαντας έπὶ τοῦ τείγους, νυκτύς δ' επιγενομένης περί δευτέραν φυλακήν άφνω τοις μέν πυρφόροις συνεχώς την έλέπολιν έβαλλον, τοίς δ' άλλοις βέλεσι παντοίοις χρώμενοι τους έκει

¹ την ελένολω έβαλλον Reiske: την φυλακήν έβαλον.

¹ This Egyptian measure, like the Greek medimnus (the 396

negotiations back and forth at great length; but in Markethe end they were not able to reach any agreement, and the siege was actively resumed. Demetrius also overthrew the strongest of the towers, which was built of squared stones, and shattered the entire curtain, so that the forces in the city were not able to maintain a thoroughfare on the battlements at

this point.

96. At this same period King Ptolemy dispatched to the Rhodians a large number of supply ships in which were three hundred thousand measures tof grain and legumes. While these ships were on their way to the city, Demetrius attempted to dispatch ships to bring them to his own camp. But a wind favourable to the Egyptians sprang up, and they were carried along with full sails and brought into the friendly harbours, but those sent out by Demetrius returned with their mission unaccomplished. sander also sent to the Rhodians ten thousand measures of barley, and Lysimachus sent them forty thousand measures of wheat and the same amount of barley. Consequently, when those in the city obtained such large supplies, the besieged, who were already disheartened, regained their courage. Deciding that it would be advantageous to attack the siege engines of the enemy, they made ready a large supply of fire-bearing missiles and placed all their ballistae and catapults upon the wall. When night had fallen, at about the second watch, they suddenly began to strike the helepolis with an unremitting shower of the fire missiles, and by using other missiles of all kinds, they shot down any who rushed to the

measure referred to below), was somewhat more than a bushel.

5 συντρέχοντας κατετίτρωσκον. οι δέ περί τον Δημήτριον, άνελπίστου της επιθέσεως γενομένης, άγωνιάσαντες περί των κατασκευασθέντων έργων 6 συνέτρεχον επί την βοήθεια. ασελήνου δε της νυκτός ούσης οἱ μὲν πυρφόροι διέλαμπον φερόμενοι βιαίως, οι δ' οξυβελεις και πετροβύλοι την φοράν απροόρατον έχοντες πολλούς διέφθειρον των μή 7 δυναμένων συνιδείν την επιφερομένην πληγήν. έτυχον δέ και των από της μηχανής λεπίδων τινές αποπεσούσαι, καταψιλωθέντος δέ του τόπου προσέπιπτον οι πυρφόροι τῷ ξυλοφανεί τοῦ κατασκευάσματος. διόπερ αγωνιάσας ό Δημήτριος μήποτε του πυρός επινεμηθέντος απασαν συμβή την μηχανήν λυμανθήναι, κατά τάχος έβοήθει και τω παρασκευασθέντι ύδατι έν ταις στέγαις έπειρατο σβεννύναι την επιφερομένην φλόγα. το δέ τελευταΐον άθροίσας τη σάλπιγγι τούς τεταγμένους έπὶ της κινήσεως των έργων διά τούτων άπηγανε τάς μηγανάς έκτος βέλους.

97. Επειτα γενομένης ήμέρας προσέταξε τοις ύπηρέταις άθροισαι τὰ βέλη τὰ πεσόντα παρὰ τῶν Ροδίων, ἐκ τούτων βουλόμενος συλλογίσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει τὴν παρασκευήν. ὧν ταχὺ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησάντων ἢριθμήθησαν πυρφόροι μὲν τοις μεγέθεσι παντοιοι πλείους τῶν ὀκτακοσίων, ὀξυβελείς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων πεντακοσίων. τοσούτων δὲ βελῶν ἐνεχθέντων ἐν βραχει χρόνων νυκτὸς ἐθαύμαζε τὴν χορηγίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν

έν τούτοις δαθάλειαν.

3 Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος κατεσκεύασε* τὰ πεπο-

δł added by editors.
 ἐπεσκεύασε Dindorf, cp. § 7 below.

spot. Since the attack was unforeseen, Demetrius, sou ne. alarmed for the siege works that had been constructed, hurried to the rescue. The night was moonless; and the fire missiles should bright as they hurtled violently through the air; but the catapults and ballistae, since their missiles were invisible, destroyed many who were not able to see the impending stroke. It also happened that some of the iron plates of the helepolis were dislodged, and where the place was laid bare the fire missiles rained upon the exposed wood of the structure. Therefore Demetrius, fearing that the fire would spread and the whole machine be rained, came quickly to the rescue, and with the water that had been placed in readiness on the platforms he tried to put out the sprending fire. finally assembled by a trumpet signal the men who were assigned to move the apparatus and by their efforts dragged the machine beyond range.

97. Then when day had dawned be ordered the camp followers to collect the missiles that had been hurled by the Rhodians, since he wished to estimate from these the armament of the forces within the city. Quickly carrying out his orders, they counted more than eight hundred fire missiles of various sizes and not less than fifteen hundred catapult bolts. Since so many missiles had been hurled in a short time at night, he marvelled at the resources possessed by the city and at their prodigality in the use of these weapons.

Next Demetrius repaired such of his works as had

νηκότα των έργων και περί τε την ταφήν των τελευτησάντων και την θεραπείαν των τραυματιών 4 έγίνετο. καθ' δυ δή χρόνου οἱ κατά την πόλευ ανεσιν λαβόντες της από των μηχανών βίας ώκοδόμησαν τρίτον τείχος μηνοειδές, περιλαμβάνοντες τη μέν περιφερεία πάντα τον κινδυνεύοντα τόπον τοῦ τείχους οὐδὶν δ' ήττυν καὶ τάφρω βαθεία περιέλαβον το πεπτωκός του τείχους, ύπως μη δύνηται ραδίως ο βασιλεύς εξ εφόδου μετά βάρους είσπεσείν 5 είς την πόλιν. εξέπεμψαν δε και ναθς των άριστα πλεουσών, 'Λμύνταν έπιστήσαντες ήγεμόνα, δς έκπλεύσας πρώς την Περαίαν της 'Λαίας επεφάνη παραδόξως πειραταίς τισιν απεσταλμένοις ύπο Δημητρίου. ούτοι δ' είχον άφρακτα τρία, κράτιστοι δοκούντες είναι των τω βασιλεί συστρατευόντων. γενομένης δ' έπ' ολίγον χρόνον ναυμαχίας οί Τόδιοι βιασάμενοι των νεών αὐτάνδρων εκυρίευσαν, έν οίς 6 ήν και Τιμοκλής ο άρχιπειρατής. Επέπλευσαν δέ καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τισὶ καὶ παρελόμενοι κέλητας ούκ ολίγους γέμοντας σίτου τούτους τε καὶ τὰ τῶν πειρατών άφρακτα κατήγαγον είς την Τόδον νυ-7 κτός, λαθόντες τους πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος επισκευάσας τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν ἔργιον προυέβαλλε τῷ τείχει τὰς μηχανάς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς βέλεσιν ἀφειδώς χρώμενος τους μέν έπι ταις επάλξεσιν εφεστώτας άνειρξε, τοις δε κριοίς τύπτων το συνεχές του τόπου δύο μέν μεσοπύργια κατέβαλε, περί δέ τον πύργον τον ανα μέσον τούτων φιλοτιμουμένοις τοίς έκ της πύλεως ισχυροί και συνεχείς έκ διαδογής άγωνες εγίνοντο, ωστε και τον στρατηγών αὐτων 400

been damaged, and devoted himself to the burial 344 kg. of the dead and the care of the wounded. Meanwhile the people of the city, having gained a respite from the violent attacks of the siege engines, constructed a third crescent-shaped wall and included in its circuit every part of the wall that was in a dangerous condition; but none the less they dug a deep most around the fallen portion of the wall so that the king should not be able to break into the city easily by an assault with a heavily armed force. They also sent out some of their fastest ships, installing Amyntas as commander; he, sailing to Peraca i in Asia, suddenly confronted some pirates who had been sent out by Demetrius. These had three deckless ships and were supposed to be the strongest of the pirates who were lighting as allies of the king. In the brief naval battle that ensued, the Rhodians overpowered the foe and took the ships with their crews, among whom was Timocles, the chief pirate. They also encountered some of the merchants and, seizing a fair number of light craft loaded with grain, they sent these and the undecked ships of the pirates to harbour in Rhodes by night, escaping the notice of the enemy. Demetrius, after he had repaired such of his equipment as was damaged, brought his siege engines up to the wall. By using all his missiles without stint, he drove back those who were stationed on the battlements, and striking with his rams a continuous portion of the wall, he overthrew two curtains; but as the city's forces fought obstinately for the tower that was between them, there were bitter and continuous encounters, one after another, with the

Literally, "the opposite land," the Rhodian territory in Caria directly opposite the island.

'Ανανίαν εκθύμως άγωνισάμενου άναιρεθήναι καί

συχνούς των άλλων στρατιωτών άποθανείν.

98. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομίνοις Πτολεμαίος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε τοῦφ 'Ροδίοις σῖτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγορὰν οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς πρότερον ἐκπεμφθείσης καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ὧν ἦν ἡγεμῶν 'Αντίγονος ὁ Μακεδών. 2 καθ' ὁν δὴ χρόνον ἡκον πρὸς τὰν Δημήτριον πρέσβεις παρά τε 'Αθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 'Ελληνίδων πόλεων, τὸν ἀριθμὸν μὲν ἄντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντήκοντα, πάντες δὲ ἀξιοῦντες διαλύσιαθαι τὸν βισιλέα πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἡηθέντων λόγων πρός τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἡηθέντων λόγων πρός τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον οὐδαμῶς ἐδυνήθησαν συμφωνῆσαι. διόπερ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπῆλθον ἄπρακτοι.

4 Δημήτριος δε διανοηθείς νυκτός επιθέσθαι τῆ πόλει κατά τὸ πεπτωκός τοῦ τείχους ἐπέλεξε τῶν τε μαχίμων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς 5 εὐθέτους εἰς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. τούτους μὲν οὖν προσέταξεν ἡσυχῆ προσελθεῖν τῷ τείχει περὶ δευτέραν φυλακήν, αὐτὸς δὲ διασκευάσας παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἐφ' ἐκάστω μέρει τεταγμένοις, ὅταν σημήνη, συναλαλάξαι καὶ προσβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι 6 καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. πάντων δὲ τὸ παραγγελθὲν ποιούντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν ὁρμήσαντες τοὺς προφυλάττοντας ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου κατασφάξαντες παρεισέπεσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸ θέατρον τόπους κατελαμβά- τνοντο· οἱ δὲ τῶν 'Ροδίων πρυτάνεις' πυθόμενοι τὸ

¹ mouraves added by Dindorf, cp. chap. 88, 3.

¹ Cp. chap. 96. 1.

result that their leader Ananias was killed fighting was ac-

98. While these events were taking place, King Ptolemy sent to the Rhodians grain and other supplies in no less quantity than those formerly sent, and fifteen hundred soldiers, whose leader was Antigonus, the Macedonian. At this very time there came to Demetrius more than fifty envoys from the Athenians and the other Greek cities, all of them asking the king to come to terms with the Rhodians. A truce, therefore, was made; but although many arguments of all sorts were presented to the city and to Demetrius, they could in no way agree; and so the envoys returned without accomplishing their nim.³

Demetrius, having determined to attack the city at night through the breach in the wall, selected the strongest of his fighting men and of the rest those fitted for his purpose to the number of fifteen hundred. These, then, he ordered to advance to the wall in silence during the second watch; as for himself, when he had made his preparations, he gave orders to those stationed on each side that when he gave the signal they should raise the battle cry and make attacks both by land and sea. When they all carried out the order, those who had advanced against breaches in the walls, after dispatching the advance guards at the moat, charged past into the city and occupied the region of the theatre; but the magistrates of the Rhodians, learning what had happened

According to Pluturch, Demetrius, 22. 4, Demetrius, who was looking for a pretext to end the siege, was induced by the Athenians to make terms on condition that the Ithodians should be allies of Antigonus and Demetrius except in a war with Ptolemy. Cp. chap. 99. 3.

συμβεβηκός και την πόλιν όρωντες απασαν τεθορυβημένην τοις μεν επί του λιμένος και των τειχών παρήγγειλαν μένειν επί της ίδίας τάξεως και τούς έξωθεν, αν προσβάλωσιν, αμθνασθαι, αὐτοὶ δ' έγοντες το των επιλέκτων σύστημα και τους από της 'Αλεξανδρείας προσφάτως καταπεπλευκότας στρατιώτας ώρμησαν έπὶ τοὺς έντὸς τοῦ τείχους Β παρεισπεπτωκότας, περικαταλαβούσης δ' ήμέρας καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου τὸ σύσσημον ἄραντος οἱ μὲν τῷ λιμένι προσβαλόντες και το τείχος πάντοθεν περιεστρατοπεδευκότες συνηλάλαξαν, εὐθαρσεῖς ποιοῦντες τοὺς κατειληφότας μέρος τοῦ περί τὸ θέατρον τόπου, ο δέ κατά την πόλιν όχλος παίδων καί νυναικών εν φόβοις ήν και δάκρυσιν, ώς της πατρί-9 δος κατά κράτος άλισκομένης. οὐ μὴν άλλά τοῖς παρεισπεσούσιν έντος του τείχους γενομένης μάχης πρώς τους 'Ροδίους και πολλών παρ' αμφοτέρως πεσόντων το μεν πρώτον οδδέτεροι της ίδίας τάξεως έξεχώρουν, μετά δε ταθτα των μέν 'Ροδίων άεὶ πλειόνων γινομένων καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον έτοίμως ύπομενόντων, ως αν ύπερ πατρίδος και των μεγίστων αγωνιζομένων, των δε του βασιλέως θλιβομένων, "Αλκιμος μεν και Μαντίας οι την ήγεμονίαν εχοντες πολλοίς περιπεσόντες τραύμασιν έτελεύτησαν, των δ' άλλων οί πλείστοι οί μεν εν χειρών νόμο διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δ' ήλωσαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φυγόντες διεσώθησαν, πολλοί δέ και τῶν Ροδίων άνηρέθησαν, εν οίς ήν και ό πρύτανις Δαμοτέλης έπ άρετή γενόμενος περίβλεπτος.

99. Δημήτριος δε την της πόλεως άλωσιν ύπολαβών εκ τών χειρών αύτοῦ την τύχην άφηρησθαι πάλιν παρεσκευάζετο πρός την πολιορκίαν. είτα

and seeing that the whole city had been thrown into 304 Me. confusion, sent orders to those at the harbour and the walls to remain at their own posts and oppose the enemy outside if he should attack; and they themselves, with their contingent of selected men and the soldiers who had recently sailed in from Alexandria. attacked the troops who had got within the walls. When day returned and Demetrius raised the ensign, those who were attacking the port and those who had been stationed about the wall on all sides shouted the battle cry, giving encouragement to the men who had occupied part of the region of the theatre; but in the city the throng of children and women were In fear and tears, thinking that their native city was being taken by storm. Nevertheless, fighting began between those who had made their way within the wall and the Rhodians, and many fell on both sides. At first neither side withdrew from its position; but afterwards, as the Rhodium constantly added to their numbers and were prompt to face danger -- as is the way with men fighting for their native land and their most precious things,-and on the other hand the king's men were in distress, Alcimus and Mantias, their commanders, expired after receiving many wounds, most of the others were killed in hand-tohand lighting or were captured, and only a few escaped to the king and survived. Many also of the Rhodians were slain, among whom was the president Damoteles, who had won great acclaim for his valour. 99. When Demetrius realized that Fortune had

99. When Demetrius realized that Fortune had snatched from his hand the capture of the city, he made new preparations for the siege. When his

του πατρός αυτώ γράψαντος διαλύσασθαι πρός Ροδίους ώς αν πυτε δύνηται, τον κάλλιστον έπετήρει καιρόν, δώσοντα προφάσεις εὐλόγους της 2 συνθέσεως. Πτολεμαίου δε γράψαντος τοις 'Poδίοις το μέν πρώτον ότι πέμψει σίτου πληθος αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατιώτας τρισχιλίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συμβουλεύοντος, έὰν ή δυνατόν, μετρίως διαλύσασθαι πρός 'Αντίγονον, απαντες έρεπου πρός την 3 εἰρήνην. καθ' δν δή χρόνον τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λίτωλών ἀποστείλαντος προσβευτάς περί διαλύσοων οί 'Ρόδιοι συνέθεντο πρός Δημήτριον επί τοίσδε, αὐτόνομον καὶ άφρούρητον είναι την πόλιν καὶ έχειν τας ίδίας προσόδους, συμμαχείν δε 'Ροδίους 'Αντινόνω πλην έαν επί Πτολεμαΐον στρατεύηται, καί δούναι των πολιτών όμπρους έκατον ούς αν άπογράψηται Δημήτριος πλήν των άρχας έχόντων.

100. Οἱ μὰν οὖν 'Ρόδιοι πολιορκηθέντες ἐνιαύσιου χρόνον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κατελύσαντο τὸν πόλεμον. τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους ἐτίμησαν ταῖς ἀξίαις δωρεαῖς καὶ τῶν δούλων τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας ἐλευθερίας καὶ πολιτείας ἡξίωσαν. ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων εἰκόνας Κασάνδρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου' τῶν δευτερευόντων μὲν ταῖς δόξαις, συμβεβλημένων δὲ μεγάλα πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν. τὸν δὲ Πτολεμαῖον ἐν ἀνταποδόσει μείζονος χάριτος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι βουλόμενοι θεωροὺς ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Λιβύην τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας τὸ παρ' "Λμμωνι μαντεῖον 408

father thereafter wrote to him to come to terms with some. the Rhodians as best he could, he awaited a favourable opportunity that would provide a specious excuse for the settlement. Since Ptolemy had written to the Rhodians, first saying that he would send them a great quantity of grain and three thousand soldiers, but then advising them, if it should be possible, to make equitable terms with Antigonus, everyone inclined toward peace. At just this time the Actolian League sent envoys to urge a settlement, and the Rhodians came to terms with Demetrius on these conditions: that the city should be autonomous and ungarrisoned and should enjoy its own revenue; that the Rhodians should be allies of Antigonus unless he should be at war with Ptolemy; and that they should give as hostages a hundred of their citizens whom Demetrius should select, those holding office being exempt.1

100. In this way, then, the Rhodians, after they had been besieged for a year, brought the war to an end. Those who had proved themselves brave men in the battles they honoured with the prizes that were their due, and they granted freedom and citizenship to such slaves as had shown themselves courageous. They also set up statues of King Cassander and King Lysimachus, who though they held second place in general opinion, yet had made great contributions to the salvation of the city. In the case of Ptolemy, since they wanted to surpass his record by repaying his kindness with a greater one, they sent a sacred mission into Libya to ask the oracle at

¹ Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 22. 4.

¹ kal after Aυσιμάχου omitted by Wesseling.

εί συμβουλεύει 'Ροδίοις Πτολεμαΐον ώς θεόν τιμήσαι. συγκατατιβεμένου δε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τέμενος
ἀνήκαν εν τῆ πόλει τετράγωνον, οἰκοδομήσαντες
παρ' ἐκάστην πλευρὰν στοὰν αταδιαίαν, ὅ προσηγόρευσαν Πτολεμαΐον. ἀνωκοδόμησαν δε καὶ τὸ
θέατρον καὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων τόπων τοὺς καθηρημένους πολλῷ κάλλιον
ἡ προϋπῆρχον.

5 Δημήτριος δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρὸς διαλυσάμενος πρὸς 'Poδίους ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ κομισθεὶς διὰ νήσων κατέπλευσε

6 της Βοιωτίας εἰς Αύλιν. σπεύδων δ' ελευθερώσαι τοὺς Τελληνας (οἱ γὰρ περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἄδειαν ἐσχηκότες ἐπόρθουν τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς Έλλάδος) πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Χαλκιδέων πόλιν ἡλευθέρωσε, φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν καταπληξάμενος ἡνάγκασεν ἀποπτῆναι τῆς Κασάνδρου ψιλίας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς μὲν Λίτωλοὺς συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πολυπέρχοντα καὶ Κάσανδρον διαπολεμεῖν παρεσκευ-άζετο.

7 ΄Λμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Εὔμηλος μὲν ὁ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς βασιλεύων ἔκτον ἔτος ἐτελούτησε, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος Σπάρτακος

ο υίος ήρξεν έτη είκοσιν.

101. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν διευκρινηκότες μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης.

1 nheupar arour lithedoman: orour nheupar.

^{1 600} feet.

^{*} Continued in chap. 102. 1.

Ammon if it advised the Rhodians to honour Ptolemy 204 a.c. as a god. Since the oracle approved, they dedicated in the city a square precinct, building on each of its sides a portice a stade I long, and this they called the Ptolemacum. They also rebuilt the theatre, the fallen portions of the walls, and the buildings that had been destroyed in the other quarters in a manner more heautiful than before.

Now that Demetrius, in accordance with injunctions of his father, had made peace with the Rhodians, he sailed out with his whole force; and after passing through the islands, he put in at Aulis in Bocotia. Since he was intent on freeing the Greeks (for Cassander and Polyperchon having up to this time enjoyed impunity were engaged in plundering the greater part of Greece), he first freed the city of the Chalcidians, which was garrisoned by Bocotians, and by striking fear into the Bocotians, he forced them to renounce their friendship with Cassander; and after this he made an alliance with the Actolians and began his preparations for carrying on war against Polyperchon and Cassander.³

While these events were taking place, Eumelus, the king of Bosporus, died in the sixth year of his reign, and his son Spartacus succeeded to the throne and

reigned for twenty years.

to1. Now that we have carefully passed in review the happenings in Greece and Asia, we shall turn our narrative toward the other parts of the inhabited world.

For the reign of Eumelus cp. chaps, 22, 1-26, 2,

[•] The name is spelled Σπάρτοκος on coins and inscriptions, e.g. the Athenian inscription of 289/8 honouring this king for a gift of grain to the city (10, 23, 653 = Dittenberger, Syll. 370).

Κατά μεν γάρ την Σικελίαν 'Αγαθοκλής, ειρήνην άγόντων των Λιπαραίων, επιπλεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδοκήτως είσεπράξατο τούς μηδ' ότιοῦν προαδική-2 σαντας άργυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. ὅτε δή πολλοίς έδοξε θείον είναι το ρηθησόμενον, τής παρανομίας τυχούσης επισημασίας παρά τοῦ δαιμονίου. ἀξιούντων γαρ των Λιπαραίων είς τὰ προσελλείποντα των χρημάτων δούναι χρόνον καί λεγόντων μηδέποτε τοις ιεροίς αναθήμασι κατακεχρησθαι, δ' Αγαθοκλής βιασάμενος αὐτοὺς δοῦνιμ τά κατά το πρυτανείον, ών είχον επιγραφήν τά μέν Αλόλου, τὰ δ' Πφαίστου, λαβών παραχρημα έξέπλευσεν. πνεύματος δ' επιγενομένου των νεών ενδεκα συνετρίβησαν αι τὰ γρήματα κομίζουσαι. 3 διόπερ έδοξε πολλοίς ο μεν λεγόμενος περί τούς τόπους εκείνους είναι κύριος των ανέμων εύθυς κατά τον πρώτον πλούν λαβείν παρ' αύτοῦ τιμωρίω, ό δε "Πφαιστος επί της τελευτής, οίκειως της ασεβείας κολάσαι τον τύραννον εν τη πατρίδι, συνωνύμως έπλ θερμοίς τοίς ανθραξι κατακαύσας ζώντα της γάρ αὐτης προαιρέσεως ήν καὶ δικαιυσύνης το των περί την Λίτνην σωζόντων τούς έμυτων γονείς αποσγέσθαι και το τους ασεβούντας είς το θείον δια της ίδίας δυνάμεως μετελθείν.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς καταστροφῆς 'Λγαθοκλέους, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἔλθωμεν, αὐτὸ τὸ γενόμενον βεβαιώσει τὸ νῦν εἰρημένου.

^{*} κολάσαι Μπινίς : κολάσας.
* ἄλθωμεν, αὐτό Γ'οκί : ἔλθωμεν αὐτοῦ.

Continued from chap, 90, 2.

In Sicily,' although the inhabitants of the Lipa- 200 nc. raean Islands were at peace with him, Agathoeles sailed against them without warning and exacted from men who had done him no prior injury whatever. fifty talents of silver. To many, indeed, what I am about to relate seemed the work of a god, since his crime received its brand from the divinity. When the Liparaeaus begged him to grant them time for what was lacking in the payment and said that they had never turned the sacred offerings to profanc uses. Agathoeles forced them to give him the dedications in the Prytaneum, of which some bore inscriptions to Acolus and some to Hephaestus; and taking these he at once sailed away. But a wind came up and the eleven of his ships that were carrying the money were sunk. And so it seemed to many that the god who was said in that region to be master of the winds at once on his first voyage exacted punishment from him, and that at the end Hephaestus punished him in his own country in a way that matched the tyrant's impious actions and the god's own name by burning him alive on hot coals 2; for it belonged to the same character and the same justice to refrain from touching those who were saving their own parents on Actna, and with his proper power to search after those who had been guilty of impiety toward his shrine.

However, as regards the disaster that befell Agathoeles, when we come to the proper time, the action itself will confirm what we now have said; but we

^{*} For the death of Agathocles ep. Book 21, frag. 16.

The reference is to Amphinomus and Anapia. While they were rescuing their parents from an irruption of Actna, the volcanic fires opened and made a way for them to puss. Cp., s.g., Seneca, de Beneficiis, 3. 87.2; Pausanias, 10. 28. 4.

έφεξης δε ρητέον ημίν τὰ πραχθέντα κατά τους

συνεχείς της Ιταλίας τόπους.

το 'Ρωμαΐοι μεν καὶ Σαμνίται διαπρεοβευσάμενοι προς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην συνύθεντο, πολεμήσαντες ετη εἴκυσι δύο καὶ μῆνας εξ. τῶν δ' ὑπάτων Πόπλιος Σεμπρώνιος μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λἰκλῶν χώραν ἐχειρώσατο τετταράκοντα πόλεις ἐν ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις πεντήκοντα, ἀναγκάσας δὲ πῶν τὸ ἔθνος ὑποτάττεσθαι 'Γωμαίοις ἐπανῆλθε καὶ θρίαμβον κατήγαγεν ἐπαινούμενον. δ δὲ δῆμος δ 'Ρωμαίων πρός τε Μαρσούς καὶ Παλιγνούς,' ἔτι δὲ Μαρρουκίνους, συμμαχίων ἐποιήσατο.

102. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Λθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Λεώστρατος, ἐν 'Γ'ώμη δ' ὑπῆρχον ὑπατοι Σερούιας Κορνήλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Γ'ενούκιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δημήτριος εἶχε πρόθεσιν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς περὶ Κάσανδρον διαπολεμεῖν, τοὺς δ' Ελληνας ἐλευθεροῦν· καὶ πρῶτον τὰ κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα διοικεῖν, ἄμα μὲν νομίζων δόξαν οἴσειν αὐτῷ μεγάλην τὴν τῶν 'Ελλήνων αὐτονομίαν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Πρεπέλαον ἡγεμόνας τοῦ Κασάνδρου πρότερον συντρῦψαι καὶ τότε προσάγειν δεῖν² ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Μακεδονίαν,' εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν πορεύοιτο 2 ὁ Κάσανδρος. ΄ τῆς δὲ τῶν Σικυωνίων πόλεως

" Selv added by Post.

3 Μακεδονίαν Reiske : ήγεμανίαν.

¹ Παλιγούς Rhudoman: Παλλισούς R, Παλλίσους X, Πελη-

εί μή . . . ο Κάσανδρος l'ost : ή . . . τον Κάσανδρον.

must now tell of events in the adjacent parts of sorme.

Italy.3

The Romans and the Samnites interchanged envoys and made peace after having fought for twenty-two years and six months; and one of the consuls, Publius Sempronius, invading the country of the Aceli with an army, captured forty cities in a total of fifty days, and after forcing the entire tribe to submit to Rome, returned home and celebrated a triumph with great applause. The Roman people made alliances with the Marst, the Paligni, and the Marrucini.

102. When the year had come to its end, Leo-agence stratus was archomin Athens, and in Rome the consuls were Servius Cornelius and Lucius Genucius. While these held office Demetrius proposed to carry on his war with Cassander and to free the Greeks; and first he planned to establish order in the affairs of Greece, for he believed that the freeing of the Greeks would bring him great honour, and at the same time he thought it necessary to wipe out Prepelaüs and the other leaders before attacking Cassander, and then to go on against Macedonia itself if Cassander did not march against him. Now

³ The Aequi or Acquiculi in Latin writers; usually called the Aikol or Aikanoi by the Greek historians. Cp. Livy,

9, 45, 5-18. Continued in chap, 104, 1.

4 Cp. Book 19, 64, S.

¹ The next reference to Sicillan affairs is in Book 21, 2, 1, ² Cp. Livy, 9, 45, 1-4; the nurrative is continued from chap, 90, 4.

Leostratus was archon in 202/2. Livy, 10. 1. 1, gives as consuls for 303 a.c. L. Genneins and Scr. Cornelius. In the Fastl Capitolini only Lentulus, the cognomen of Cornelius, can be read. The narrative is continued from chap. 100. 6, Cp. Plutarch, Demetrina, 25.

φρουρουμένης ύπο των Πτυλεμαίου του βασιλέως στρατιωτών, ών ην επιφανέστατος στρατηγός Φίλιππος, νυκτός επιθέμενος απροσδοκήτως παρεισέπεσεν έντὸς τοῦ τείχους. Είτα οί μεν φρουροί συνέφυγον είς την ακρόπολιν, ο δε Δημήτριος της πόλεως κυριεύσας τον μεταξύ τόπον τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ της άκρας κατείχε. μέλλοντος δ' αύτου μηγανάς προσάγειν καταπλαγέντες την μέν άκρόπολιν δι ομολογίας παρέδοσαν, αύτοι δ' απέπλευσαν είς Αίγυπτον. ό δε Δημήτριος τους Σικυωνίωυς είς την ακρόπολιν μετοικίσας το μέν τω λιμένι συνάπτον μέρος της πόλεως κατέσκαψεν, άνογύρου παντελώς όντος του τόπου, τω δε πολιτικώ πλήθει συνεπιλαβόμενος της οἰκοδομίας καὶ την ελευθερίαν άποκαταστήσας τιμών Ισοθέων έτυχε παρά τοις εδ 3 παθούσι: Δημητρείδα μέν γάρ την πόλιν ωνόμασαν, θυσίας δέ και πανηγύρεις, έτι δ' αγώνας εψηφίσαντο συντελείν αυτώ κατ' ένιαυτον και τὰς άλλας άπονέμειν τιμάς ώς κτίστη. άλλα ταθτα μέν ο χρόνος διαληφθείς πραγμάτων μεταβολαίς ήκύρωσεν, οί δέ Σικυώνιοι πολλώ κρείττονα μεταλαβόντες τόπον διετέλεσαν εν αὐτῶ μέγρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς γρόνων 4 ενοικούντες. ο γάρ της ακροπόλεως περίβολος επίπεδος ών και μέγας κρημνοίς δυσπροσίτοις περιέχεται πανταχύθεν, ώστε μηδαμή δύνασθαι μηχανάς προσώγειν έχει δε και πλήθος ύδώτων, εξ ού κηπείας δαψιλείς κατεσκεύασαν, ώστε την επίνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν εἰρηνικὴν καὶ πρός ἀσφάλειων πολέμου δόξαι καλώς προεωρίτσθαι. 103. Ο δε Δημήτριος διοικήσας τὰ περί τούς

¹ συνέφυγον Βεκκυτ: συνεισέπεσον ΚΧ, συνέπεσον Ε.
2 ἀνοχύρου Dincharf: όχυροῦ.

the city of Sicyon was garrisoned by King Ptolemy's status. soldiers, commanded by a very distinguished general, Philip. Attacking this city suddenly by night, Demetrius broke his way inside the walls. Then the garrison fled to the aeropolis, but Demetrius took possession of the city and occupied the region between the houses and the acropolis. While he hesitated to bring up his siege engines, the garrison in panic surrendered the aeropolis on terms and the men themselves sailed off to Egypt. After Demetrius had moved the people of Sieyon into their aeropolis, he destroyed the part of the city adjacent to the harbour, since its site was quite insecure; then, after he had assisted the common people of the city in building their houses and had re-established free government for them, he received divine honours from those whom he had benefited; for they called the city Demetrias, and they voted to celebrate sacrifices and public festivals and also games in his honour every year and to grant him the other honours of a founder. Time, however, whose continuity has been broken by changes of conditions, has invalidated these honours; but the people of Sieyon, having thus obtained a much better location, continue to live there down to our times. For the enclosed area of the aeropolis is level and of ample size, and it is surrounded on all sides by cliffs difficult to scale, so that on no side can engines of war be brought near; moreover, it has plenty of water by the aid of which they developed rich gardens. so that the king in his design seems to have made excellent provision both for comfort in time of peace and for safety in time of war,

103. After Demetrius had settled the affairs of the

⁴ Cp. Pansanias, 2, 7, 1; Strabo 8, 6, 25.

Σικυωνίους ἀνέζευξε μετά πάσης της δυνήμεως έπὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, ῆν ἐφρούρει Πρεπέλαος Κασάνδρου στρατηγός. το μέν ούν πρώτον νυκτός ύπο τινων πολιτών είσαχθείς διά τους πυλίδος εκράτησε 2 της πόλεως και των λιμένων. των δε φρουρών καταφυγόντων των μέν είς το καλούμενου Σισύφιου. των δ' είς του 'Ακροκόρινθου, προσαγαγών μηχανάς τοις οχυρώμασι και πολλά κακοπαθήσας είλε το Σισύφιον κατά κράτος. είτα των ένταθία συμφυγόντων πράς τους κατειληφότας του 'Ακροκόρινθου και τούτους καταπληξάμενος ήνάγκασε 3 παραδούναι την άκραν αφόδρα γαρ ήν ανηπάστατος ούτος ὁ βασιλεύς ἐν ταις προσβολαίς, εὐμήχανος ύπάργων περί την κατασκευήν των πολιορκητικών έργων, ου μην άλλα τους Κοραθίους έλευθερώσας παρεισήγαγε φυλακήν είς του 'Ακροκόρινθου, βουλομένων των πολιτών δια του βασιλέως τηρεισθαι την πόλον μέχρι αν ο πρός Κάσανδρον καταλυθή ι πόλεμος. και Πρεπέλαος μέν αισχρώς έκπεσών έκ της Κορίνθου πρός Κάσανδρον απεχώρησεν, Δημήτριος δέ παρελθών είς την 'Αχαΐαν Βούραν μέν κατά κράτος είλε και τοις πολίταις απέδωκε την αύτονομίαν, Σκύρον δ' εν ολίγαις ήμεραις παραλαβών ε εξέβαλε την φρουράν. μετά δε ταῦτ' ἐπ' 'Ομχαμενον της 'Αρκαδίας στρατεύσας έκέλευσε το της φρουράς άφηγουμένω Στρομβίχω παραδούναι την πόλιν. οὐ προσέχοντας δ' αὐταῦ ταῖς λόγοις αλλά καὶ πολλά λοιδορούντος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βλασφήμιος προσαγαγών μηχανάς δ βασιλεύς και καταβαλών 6 τὰ τείχη κατά κράτος είλε την πόλα. του μέν ούν Στρόμβιχου του ύπο Πολυπέρχουτος καθεσταμένου 1 deracon Herthelm : de racen.

people of Sievon, he set out with his whole army for 303 a.c. Corinth, which was held by Prepelaus, a general of Cassander. At first, after he had been admitted at night by certain citizens through a postern gate. Demetrius gained possession of the city and its harbours. The garrison, however, fled, some to the place called Sisyphium, some to Acrocorinth; but he brought up engines of war to the fortifications and took Sisyphium by storm after suffering heavy losses. Then, when the men there fled to those who had occupied Aerocovinth, he intimidated them also and forced them to surrender the citadel; for this king was exceedingly irresistible in his assaults, being particularly skilled in the construction of siege equipment. Be that as it may, when once he had freed the Corinthians he brought a garrison into Acrocorinth, since the citizens wished the city to be protected by the king until the war with Cassander should be brought to an end. Prepelaüs, ignominiously driven out of Corinth, withdrew to Cassander, but Demetrius, advancing into Achaia, took Bura by storm and restored autonomy to its citizens; then, capturing Sevrus in a few days, he east out its garrison. After this, making a campaign against Areadian Orchomenus, he ordered the garrison commander, Strombichus, to surrender the city. When he paid no attention to the orders but even poured much abuse upon him from the wall in an insulting manner, the king brought up engines of war, overthrew the walls, and took the city by storm. As for Strombichus, who had been made garrison-commander by Polyperchon,

¹ Sisyphium is on the slope of Acrocorinth below Peirene, Strabo, 8, 6, 21.

² Enfour Wesseling.

φρούραρχον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλλοτρίως διατεθέντων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνεσταύρωσε, τῶν δ΄ ἄλλων μισθοφόρων έλὼν εἰς δισχιλίους κατέμιξε τοῖς ἰδίοις στρατιώταις. 7 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν ταύτης τῆς πόλεως οἱ σύνεγγυς τὰ φρούρια κατέχοντες, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν τὸ διαφυγεῖν τὴν βίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, παρἐδωκαν αὐτῷ τὰ χωρία. ὑμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ τὰς πόλεις φρουροῦντες, τῶν μὲν περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Πρεπέλαον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα μὴ βοηθούντων τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ μηχανῶν ὑπεραγουσῶν προσιόντος, ἐκουσίως ἐξεχώρουν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Δημήτριον ἐν τούτοις ῆν.

101. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἱταλίαν Ταραντίνοι πόλεμον ἔχοντες πρὸς Λευκανοὺς καὶ Τωμαίους εξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, αἰτούμενοι βοήθειαν 2 καὶ στρατηγὸν Κλεώνυμον. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων προθύμως ἡγεμόνα δόντων τὸν αἰταύμενον καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων χρήματα καὶ ναθς ἀποστειλάντων ὁ μὲν Κλεώνυμος ἐπὶ Ταινάρω τῆς Λακωνικῆς ξενολογήσας στρατιώτας πεντακισχιλίους συντόμως κατέπλευσεν εἰς Τάραντα. ἐνταθθα δὲ μισθοφόρους ἀθροίσας ἄλλους οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν προτέρων κατέγραφε καὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους. προσελάβετο δὲ τῶν τε κατ' Ἰταλίαν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς πλείστους 3 καὶ τὸ τῶν Μεσααπίων ἔθνος. ἀδρῶς οὖν δυνάμεως

Continued in chap. 106. 1.
 Continued from chap. 101. 5.

Son of King Cleomenes II, but passed over in favour of Areus I because of his violent and tyrannical character. Cp.

and at least eighty of the others who were hostile to 108 n.c. him, Demetrius erucified them in front of the city, but having captured at least two thousand of the other mercenaries, he incorporated them with his own men. After the capture of this city, those who commanded the forts in the vicinity, assuming that it was impossible to escape the might of the king, surrendered the strongholds to him. In like fashion those also who guarded the cities withdrew of their own accord, since Cassander, Prepelaüs, and Polyperchon failed to come to their aid but Demetrius was approaching with a great army and with overwhelming engines of war,

This was the situation of Demetrius.1

104. In Italy *the people of Tarentum were waging war with the Lucanians and the Romans; and they sent envoys to Sparta asking for assistance and for Cleonymus as general. When the Lacedaemonians willingly granted them the leader whom they requested and the Tarentines sent money and ships, Cleonymus enrolled five thousand mercenaries at Taenarum in Lacenia * and sailed at once to Tarentum. After collecting there other mercenaries no less in number than those previously enrolled, he also culisted more than twenty thousand citizens as footsoldiers and two thousand as mounted troops. He won the support also of most of the Greeks in Italy and of the tribe of the Messapians. Then, since

Plularch, Pyrrhus, 26, 8; Pausanias, 3, 6, 2. Originally Tarentum was a colony of Sparta.

4 For Taenarum as a recruiting ground for mercenaries cp.

Book 18, 21, 1-3,

6 The Messapians, an Italic tribe occupying the heel of the Italian peninsula, were the closest neighbours of the Tarentines.

περί αὐτὸν ούσης οί μεν Λευκανοί καταπλαγέντες φιλίαν εποιήσαντο πρός τους Ταραντίνους, των δέ Μεταποντίνων οὐ προσεχόντων αὐτώ τοὺς Λευκανούς επεισεν εμβαλείν είω την χώραν και τω καιρώ συνεπιθέμενος κατεπλήξατο τους Μεταποντίνους. παρελθών δ' είς την πόλα ώς φίλος επράξατο μέν άργυρίου τάλαντα πλείω των έξακουίων, διακοσίας δέ παρθένους τὰς ἐπιφανευτάτας ελαβεν είς όμηρίου, ούν ούτω της περί την πίστιν ασφαλείας 4 yapır, ibs tifs ibias everer hayreias. anollejuros γάρ την Λακωνικήν εσθήτα διετέλει τρυφών καί τούς πιστεύσαντας αὐτώ καταδουλούμενος τηλικαύτας γάρ έχων δυνάμεις και χορηγίας οὐδεν τής Σπάρτης άξιον επραξεν. επεβάλετο μεν γάρ επί την Σικελίαν στρατεύειν, ώς την τυραννίδα μέν καταλύσων την 'Αγαθοκλέους, την δ' αθτονομίαν τοις Σικελιώταις αποκαταστήσων, υπερθέμενος δέ έπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ταύτην την στρατείαν επλευσεν είς Κόρκυραν και κρατήσας της πύλεως χρημάτων τε πλήθος είσεπράξατο καὶ φρουράν έγκατέστησε, διανοούμενος δρμητηρίω τούτω τῶ τόπω χρήσασθαι και τοις περί την Ελλάδα πράγμασην έφεδρεύεω.

105. Εὐθὰ δὲ καὶ πρεσβειῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενομένων παρά τε Δημητρίου τοῦ πολιορκητοῦ καὶ Κασάνδρου περὶ συμμαχίας τούτων μὲν οὐδετέρω προσέβετο, τοὺς δὲ Γαραντίνους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς πυθόμενος ἀφεστηκέναι τῆς μὲν Κορκύρας τὴν ἱκαιὴν φυλακὴν ἀπέλιπεν, μιτὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως ἔπλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὡς κολάσων τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας. προσσχών δὲ τῆ χώρα καθ' ὅν τόπον ἐφύλασσον οἱ βάρβαροι,

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he had a strong army under his command, the 203 i.c. Lucanians in alarm established friendship with the Tarentines; and when the people of Metapontum did not come over to him, he persuaded the Lucanians to invade the territory of the Metapontines and, by making a simultaneous attack himself, intimidated them. Then, entering their city as a friend, he exacted more than six hundred talents of silver; and he took two bundred maidens of the best families as hostages, not so much as a guarantee of the city's faith as to satisfy his own last.\(^1\) Indeed, having disearded the Spartan garb, he lived in continued luxury and made slaves of those who had trusted in him: for although he had so strong an army and such ample supplies, he did nothing worthy of Sparta. He planned to invade Sicily as if to overthrow the tyranny of Agathocles and restore their independence to the Siciliots; but postponing this campaign for the present, he sailed to Coreyra, and after getting possession of the city exacted a great sum of money and installed a garrison, intending to use this place as a base and to await a chance to take part in the affairs in Greece.

105. But soon, when envoys did come to him both from Demetrius Poliorcetes and from Cassander proposing alliances, he joined with neither of them; but when he learned that the Tarentines and some of the others were in revolt, he left an adequate garrison in Coreyra, and with the rest of his army sailed at top speed to Italy in order to punish those who defied his commands. Putting in to land in the district that was defended by the barbarians, he took

¹ Cp. Duris, Firtl, 76, 18; Athenaeus, 13, 84 (p. 605 e).

τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐλῶν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τὴν δὲ χώραν 2 ἐλεηλάτησεν. ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Τριόπιον ἐκπολιορκήσας εἰς τρισχιλίους ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. καθ' δν δὴ χρόνον οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας βάρβαροι συνδραμόντες ἐπέθεντο νυκτὸς τῆ στρατοπεδεία καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἀνεῖλον τῶν μετὰ Κλεωινύμου πλείους τῶν διακοσίων, ἐζώγρησαν δὲ περὶ χιλίους. 3 ἄμα δὲ τῷ κινδύνῷ τούτῳ χειμών ἐπιγενόμενος εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν διέφθειρε πλησίον ὁρμουσῶν τῆς παρεμβολῆς. ὁ δὲ Κλεώνυμος δυσὶν ἐλαττώμασι τηλικούτοις περιπεσών ἀπέπλευσε μετὰ τῆς δυνά-

μοως είς την Κόρκυραν.

106. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Λθήνησι μὲν ἢν ἄρχων Νικοκλῆς, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὅπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Μάρκος Λίβιος καὶ Μάρκος Λίμιλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Κάσανδρος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν 'Ελλήνων αὐξομένην καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνιστάμενον περίφοβος ἢν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος. διόπερ ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς 'Αντίγονον εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν, ἀξιῶν διαλύσιαθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀποκριναμένου δ' ἐκείνου διότι μίαν γινώσκει διάλυσιν, ἐὰν ὁ Κάσανδρος ἐπιτρέπη τὰ καθ' αὐτόν, καταπλαγείς Λυσίμαχον ἐκ τῆς Θράκης

The name of the city seems to have been lost.

² The context (if, indeed, Tarentines above is right) suggests that the city is Tarentum; but no enslavement of its population is known, and it is most probable that some city name has fallen out. Cleonymus' raid upon Thuriae (Livy, 422

the city, sold its people into slavery, and plundered 203 RI. the countryside. He likewise took by siege the city called Triopium, enpturing about three thousand prisoners. But at this very time the barbarians throughout the region came together and attacked his camp by night, and in the battle that took place they slew more than two hundred of Cleonymus' men and made prisoners about a thousand. A storm rising at the time of the battle destroyed twenty of the ships that Lay at anchor near his encampment. Having met with two such disasters, Cleonymus sailed away to Coreyra with his army.

archon in Athens, and in Rome Marcus Livius and Marcus Aemilius received the consulship, While these held office, Cassander, the king of the Macedonians, on seeing that the power of the Greeks was increasing and that the whole war was directed against Macedonia, became much alarmed about the future. He therefore sent envoys into Asia to Antigonus, asking him to come to terms with him. But when Antigonus replied that he recognized only one basis for a settlement—Cassander's surrender of whatever he possessed,—Cassander was alarmed and summoned Lysimachus from Thrace to take con-

^{10. 2. 1),} an otherwise unknown city on the cast coast of the Bay of Tarentum, belongs in the next year.

² The exact site is not known.

There is nothing more about Cleonymus in what remains of Diodorus. For his further adventures cp. Livy 10, 2,

⁴ Nicocles was archon in 302/1. Livy, 10, 1, 7, gives the consuls of 302 n.c. as M. Livius Denter and Aemilius (without pracomen).

⁶ i.e. the alhance under Demetrius Poliorectes. The narrative is continued from chap, 103. 7. Cp. Justin, 15. 2. 15; Orosius, S. 23. 41.

μετεπέμψατο πρός την των όλων κοινοπραγίαν. 3 άει γάρ ειώθει τούτον κατά τούς μεγίστους φόβους είς την βοήθειαν προυλαμβάνεσθαι διά τε την τάνδρος άρετην και δια το την βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ομορον είναι τη Μακεδονία. συνεδρεύσαντες ούν οί βασιλείς ούτοι περί του κοινού συμφέροιτος έξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτάς πρός τε Πτολεμαίου του Αλγύπτου βασιλέα και πρός Σέλευκου του των άνω σατραπειών κυριεύοντα, περί το της ύπερηφανίας της εν ταις αποκρίσεσιν εμφανίζοντες και τον έκ τοῦ πολέμου κίνδυνον κοινόν είναι πάντων διδά-4 σκοντες. της γάρ Μακεδονίας κρατήσαντα τον Αντίγονον εὐθὺς ἀφελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς βασιλείας δεδωκέναι γάρ αὐτὸν πειραν πλεονάκις ότι πλεονέκτης έστι και πάσαν άρχην ακοινώνητον ποιεί. συμφέρειν οθν απαντας συμφρονήσαι καί 5 κοινή πρός 'Αντίγονον ἐπανελέσθαι πόλεμον, οί μέν ούν περί Πτολεμαΐον και Σέλευκον δύξαντες άληθη λέγειν προθύμως υπήκουσαν και συνετάξαυτο πρός άλληλους βοηθείν άδραις δυνάμεσι.

107. Γοις δε περί Κάσανδρον εδοξε μη περιμένειν την των πολεμίων εφοδον, άλλα και αυτούς φθάσαντας επιστρατεύειν και προλαμβάνειν το χρησιμον. διόπερ ο Κάσανδρος Λυσιμάχω μεν παρέδωκε μέρος τοῦ στρατοπέδου και στρατηγον Πρεπέλαον συνεξέπεμψεν, αυτος δε ανέζευξε μετα της λοιπης δυνάμεως εἰς Θετταλίαν, διαπολεμήσων Δημητρίω και τοις Ελλησι. Λυσίμαχος δε μετά

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¹ wpos addidans after deven amitted by Bekker.

προς αλλήλους added by Belsels (Gricehische Geschichte², 4.
 11 pewéλauv added by Belsels (Gricehische Geschichte², 4.
 1. 162, note 3).

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certed action in regard to their highest interests; 302 me. for it was his invariable custom when facing the most alarming situations to call on Lysimachus for assistunce, both because of his personal character and because his kingdom lay next to Macedonia. When these kings had taken counsel together about their common interest, they sent envoys to Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, and to Seleucus, who was ruler of the upper satrapies, revealing the arrogance of Antigonus' answer and showing that the danger arising from the war was common to all. For they said, if Antigonus should gain control of Maccdonia, he would at once take their kingdoms from the others also; indeed he had given proof many times that he was grasping and regarded any command as a possession not to be shared. It would therefore, they said, be advaningeous for all to make plans in common and jointly undertake a war against Antigonus. Now Ptolemy and Seleucus, believing that the statements were true, eagerly agreed and arranged with Cassander to assist one another with strong forces.

107. Cassander, however, thought it best not to await the attack of his enemies but to get the start of them by opening the campaign himself and seizing what he could use to advantage. Therefore Cassander gave to Lysimachus a part of his army and sent with it Prepelails as general, while he himself moved with the rest of the army into Thessaly to carry on the war with Demetrius and the Greeks.

¹ But op, critical note.

στρατοπέδου διαβάς έκ της Ευρώπης είς την 'Ασίαν Λαμψακηνούς μέν καὶ Παριανούς έκουσίως προσθεμένους άφηκεν έλευθέρους, Σίγειον δε έκπολιορκήσας φρουράν παρεισήγαγε, μετά δέ ταθτα Πρεπελάω μεν τω στρατηγώ δούς πεζούς έξακισχιλίους, ίππεις δε χιλίους εξέπεμψε προσαξόμενον τας πόλεις τας τε κατά την Λιολίδα και την Ίωνίαν, αὐτός δε τό μεν πρώτον επεχείρησε πολιορκείν την "Αβυδου και βέλη και μηχανάς και τάλλα παρ-3 εσκευάζετο έπει δε κατά θάλατταν ήλθε τοῦς πολιορκουμένοις στρατιωτών πλήθος παρά Δημητρίου το δυνάμενον την ασφάλειαν παρέχεσθαι τη πόλει, ταύτης μεν της επιβολής απέστη, την δ' εφ' Έλλησπόντω Φρυγίαν προσαγαγόμενος και Σύνναδαι πόλιν έχουσαν αποσκευάς μεγάλας βασιλικάς 4 ἐπολιόρκησεν. ότε δη και Δόκιμον τὸν 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγόν πείσας κοινοπραγείν τά τε Σύνναδα παρέλαβε διά τούτου και των οχυρωμάτων ένια των εγώντων τὰ βασιλικά γρήματα. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυσιμάγου στρατηγός Πρεπέλαος 'Αδραμυττίου μέν έκυρίευσεν έν παρύδω, την δ' "Εφεσον πολιορκήσας και καταπληξάμενος τους ενδον παρέλαβε την πόλιν. και τούς μέν εγκαταληφθέντας των Ροδίων έκατον όμήρους απέστειλεν είς την πατρίδα, τους δ' Έφεσίους ἀφηκε, τὰς δε ναῦς τὰς εν τῶ λιμένι πάσας ενέπρησε δια το θαλασσοκρατείν τους πολεμίους

^{&#}x27; Fischer in apparatus suggests reading καὶ (ἐνὶ τὴν ἄνω Φρυγίαν προάγων) Σύννοδα. . . . Cp. note on translation.

Lysimachus with his army crossed from Europe to au a... Asia, and since the inhabitants of Lampsacus and Parium came over to him willingly, he left them free, but when he took Sigeum by force, he installed a garrison there. Next, giving his general Prepelatis six thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horse, he sent him to win over the cities throughout Acolis and Ionia: as for himself, he first attempted to invest Abydus and set about preparing missiles and engines and the other equipment; but when there arrived by sea to assist the besieged a large body of soldiers sent by Demetrius, a force sufficient to secure the safety of the city, he gave up this attempt and won over Hellespontine Phrygia, and also laid siege to the city of Synnada,1 which possessed a great royal treasure. It was at this very time that he even persuaded Docimus, the general of Antigonus, to make common cause with him, and by his aid he took Synnada and also some of the strongholds that held the royal wealth. Prepelaus, the general who had been sent by Lysimachus to Acolis and Ionia, mastered Adramyttium as he passed by, and then, laying siege to Ephesus and frightening its inhabitants, he took the city. The hundred Rhodian hostages a whom he found there he sent back to their native land; and he left the Ephesians free but burned all the ships in the harbour, since the enemy controlled the sea

² Since Synnada is not in Hellespontine Phrygia, we may suppose either an error on Diedorus' part or the loss of some such words as those suggested by Fischer: "and then advancing into Upper Phrygia, he laid siege to Synnada."
³ Cp. chap. 99, 3.

² ζέλευθέρους) ἀφήκε Itelske; ζύποσπάνδους) ἀφήκε Hertlein, Fischer.

καὶ τὴν ὅλην κρίσιν τοῦ πολέμου ἄδηλον ὑπάρχειν.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τηίους μὲν καὶ Κολοφωνίους προσηγάγετο, Ἐρυθραίοις δὲ καὶ Κλαζομενίοις ἐλθούσης
κατὰ θάλατταν βοηθείας τὰς εμὲν πόλεις ἐλεῖν οὐκ
ἤδυνήθη, τὴν δὲ χώραν αὐτῶν πορθήσας ἀνέζευξεν
ἐπὶ Σάρδεις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν ᾿Λυτιγόνου στρατηγὸν Φοίνικα πείσας ἀποστῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως
παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας ταύτην γὰρ
φυλάττων Φίλιππος εἶς τῶν ᾿Λιτιγόνου φίλων
βεβαίαν ἐτήρει τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν πεπιστευκότα.

Τὰ μέν οδν περί Αυσίμαχον εν τούτοις ήν.

108. 'Αντίγονος δε προκεχειρισμένος άγωνα μέγαν καὶ πανήγυριν ἐν 'Αντιγονία συντελείν πάντοθεν άθλητάς τε καὶ τεχνίτας τούς ἐπιφανεστάτους έπι μεγάλοις άθλοις και μισθοίς ήθροίκει. ώς δ' ήκουσε την Λυσιμάχου διάβασιν καὶ τῶν στρατηνῶν την απόστασιν, τον μεν αγώνα διέλυσε, τοις δ' άθληταις και τοις τεχνίταις απέδωκε μισθούς ούκ 2 ελάττους διακοσίων ταλάντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν αναλαβών ώρμησεν έκ της Συρίας σύντομον την πορείαν ποιούμενος επί τους πολεμίους. είς δὲ Ταρσον τῆς Κιλικίας ἀφικόμενος ἐξ ὧν κατεκόμισε χρημάτων έκ των Κυΐνδων το στρατόπεδον 3 είς τρείς μήνας έμισθοδότησεν. χωρίς δε τούτων τρισχίλια τάλαντα μετά της δυνάμεως εκόμιζεν, όπως τοιαύτην έχη την χορηγίαν, όταν αὐτῷ χρεία γένηται χρημάτων. επειτα τον Ταύρον ύπερβαλών

¹ καὶ Δόκιμον after Φοίνικα omitted by Wesseling.

and the whole outcome of the war was uncertain. **22 **c. After this he secured the adherence of the people of Teos and of Colophon, but since reinforcements came by sea to Erythrae, and Clazomenae, he could not capture these cities; however, he plundered their territory and then set out for Sardis. There, by persuading Antigonus' general Phoenix to desert the king, he gained control of the city except the aeropolis; for Philip, one of the friends of Antigonus, who was guarding the citadel, held firm his loyalty toward the man who had placed trust in him.

The affairs of Lysimachus were in this position.

108. Antigonus, who had made preparations to celebrate great games and a festival in Antigonia, had collected from all sides the most famous athletes and artists to compete for great prizes and fees. But when he heard of the crossing of Lysimachus and the desertion of his own generals, he abandoned the games but distributed to the athletes and artists not less than two hundred talents as compensation. He himself taking his army set out from Syria and made n rapid march against the enemy. Arriving at Tarsus in Cilicia, he paid the army for three months from the money he had brought down from Cyinda.2 Apart from this fund, he was carrying three thousand talents with the army in order that he might have this provision whenever he had need of money. Then, crossing the Taurus Range, he marched toward

For the treasury of Alexander at Cyinda ep. Book 18, 63, 9; 19, 56, 5.

¹ This is probably the same Philip as the adviser given to Demetrins by Antigomus in 314 a.c., Book 19, 69, 1.

² Κοῦνδων, υμ. Βοοκκ 18, 62, 2; 19, 56, 5; Κουῦνδων ItF, Κουῶνδῶν X.

προήγεν έπὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας περί την άνω Φρυγίαν και Λυκαονίαν επιπορευόμενος πάλιν είς την προϋπάρχουσαν συμμαχίαν 4 αποκατέστησεν. καθ' δυ δή χρόνου οί περί του Λυσίμαχον πυθόμενοι την των πολεμίων παρουσίαν συνήδρευον, βουλευόμενοι πως χρηστέον είη τοις 5 έπιφερομένοις κινδύνοις. έδοξεν οθν αὐτοις είς μέν μάχην μή συγκαταβαίνειν, έως αν οι περί Σέλευκου έκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν καταβῶσι, τόπους δ'1 όχυρούς καταλαβέσθαι και χάρακι και τάφρω την στρατοπεδείαν ασφαλισαμένους υπομένειν των πολεμίων την εφοδον. ούτοι μεν ούν το δοχθέν αὐτοῖς έπετέλουν κατά σπουδήν ο δ' 'Αντίγονος επεί πλησίον εγένετο των πολεμίων, εκτάξας την δύβ ναμιν προεκαλείτο είς μάχην. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐπεξιέναι τολμώντος αὐτὸς μὲν κατελάβετο τύπους τινάς, δι' ων άναγκαΐον ήν τὰς τροφάς τοῖς έναντίοις παρακομίζεσθαι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λυσίμαχον φοβηθέντες μήποτε της άγορας άποκοπείσης υποχείριοι γένωνται τοις πολεμίοις, νυκτός ανέζευξαν και διατείναντες σταδίους τετρακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν 7 περί Δορύλαιον είχε γάρ το χωρίον σίτου τε καί της άλλης χορηγίας πληθος και ποταμόν παραρ-ρέοντα δυνάμενον ἀσφάλειαν παρέχεσθαι τοις παρ' αὐτον στρατοπεδεύουσι. βαλόμενοι δε στρατοπεδείαν ωχύρωσαν την παρεμβολήν βαθεία τάφρω καὶ τριπλῷ χάρακι.

109. 'Αντίγονος δε πυθόμενος την των πολεμίων ἀποχώρησιν εὐθὺς ἐπεδίωκεν αὐτοὺς καὶ πλησίον γενόμενος τῆς παρεμβολῆς, ἐπεὶ πρὸς παράταξιν οὐ συγκατέβαινον, ἤρξατο περιταφρεύειν τὴν στρατοπεδείαν καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ βέλη μετεπέμψατο,

Cappadocia; and, advancing upon those who had 302 n.c. deserted him in upper Phrygia and Lycaonia, he restored them again to the former alliance. At this very time Lysimachus, on hearing of the presence of the enemy, held a council considering how he ought to meet the approaching dangers. decided not to join in battle until Selencus should come down from the upper satrapies, but to occupy strong positions and, after making their encampment safe with palisade and ditch, to await the onslaught of the enemy. They therefore carried out their decision with vigour; but Antigonus, when he came near the enemy, drew up his army and challenged them to battle. When no one dared to issue forth. he himself occupied certain places through which it was necessary that the provisions for his opponents should be transported; and Lysimachus, fearing that if their food supply should be cut off, they would then be at the mercy of the enemy, broke camp at night. made a forced march of four hundred stades,1 and camped near Dorylaeum; for the stronghold had an ample store of grain and other supplies, and a river ran by it that could give protection to those who camped beside it. Pitching camp, they strengthened their encampment with a deep ditch and a triple stockade.

109. When Antigonus learned of the departure of the enemy he at once pursued them; and, after he had approached their encampment, since they did not come out for battle, he began to surround their camp with a trench, and he sent for catapults

¹ About 44 miles,

^{1 3&#}x27; Geer 1 54.

βουλόμενος αὐτὴν πολιορκήσαι. συντελουμένων δ' άκροβολισμών περί τὴν ταφρείαν καὶ τών περί τὸν Λυσίμαγον πειρωμένων ανείργειν τοις βέλεσι τους έργαζομένους έν πάσιν προεπίρουν οί περί τον 2 'Αντίγονον. επειτα χρόνου γενομένου καὶ τῶν εργων ήδη συντέλειαν λαμβανόντων, της δέ τροφης ύπολιπούσης τους πολιορκουμένους οι περί Λυσίμαχον, τηρήσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον, αναζεύξαντες έκ της παρεμβολής διά των υπερδεξίων τύπων απεχώρησαν είς παραχειμασίαν. ὁ δ' Αντίνυνος ήμέρας γενομένης ώς είδε την των πολειτίων απαλ-3 λαγήν, αντιπαρήγεν αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν πεδίων. ἐπιγενομένων δε ομβρων μεγάλων και της χώρας ούσης βαθυγείου και πηλώδους των τε υποζυγίων ούκ δλίγα συνέβη και των σωμάτων τινά διαφθαρήναι και το σύνολον επιπόνως απασαν την δύναμιν 4 διατεθήναι. διόπερ ό βασιλεύς άμα μεν άναλαβείν βουλόμενος έκ της κακοπαθίας τους στρατιώτας, άμα δε την χειμερινήν ώραν όρων περιλαμβάνουσαν τοῦ μεν καταδιώκειν ἀπέστη, πρός δε την χειμασίαν επιλεξάμενος τους ευθετωτάτους τόπους διείλε κατά 5 μέρη την δύναμιν. πυνθανόμενος δε Σέλευκον κατα-Βαίνειν έκ των άνω σατραπειών μετά μεγάλης δυνάμεως, επεμιρέ τινας των φίλων είς την Ελλάδα πρός Δημήτριου, παρακελευόμενος ήκειν πρός αὐτὸν μετά τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν ταχίστην υφόδρα γάρ εὐλαβεῖτο μη πάντων των βασιλέων ἐπ' αὐτὸν συνδραμόντων αναγκασθή παρατάξει κρίναι τον όλου πόλεμον πρίν ή συνελθείν είς ταὐτὸν την έκ α της Ευρώπης δύναμιν. παραπλησίως δε και Λυσίμαχος διείλε την δύναμιν είς χειμασίαν έν τῷ καλουμένω Σαλωνίας πεδίω. αγοράν δε πολλήν έξ 432

and missiles, intending to storm it. When shots were 201 Ke exchanged about the excavation and Lysimachus' men tried to drive away with missiles those who were working, in every case Antigonus had the better of it. Then as time passed and the work was already nearing completion, since food was growing scarce for the besieged, Lysimachus, after waiting for a stormy night, set out from the camp and departed through the higher land to go into winter quarters, But when at daybreak Antigonus saw the departure of the enemy, he himself marched parallel with them through the plains. Great rainstorms occurred, with the result that, as the country had deep soil and became very muddy, he lost a considerable number of his pack animals and a few of his men, and in general the whole army was in serious difficulty. Therefore the king, both because he wished to restore his soldiers after their sufferings and because he saw that the winter season was at hand, gave up the pursuit; and selecting the places best suited for wintering, he divided his army into sections. But when he learned that Seleucus was coming down from the upper satrapies with a great force, he sent some of his friends into Greece to Demetrius, bidding him come to him with his army as soon as possible; for, since all the kings had united against him, he was taking every precaution not to be forced to decide the whole war in battle before the army in Europe came to join him. Similarly Lysimachus also divided his army in order to go into winter quarters in the plain called that of Salonia. He obtained ample

¹ Salavias Wesseling (cp. Strabo, 12, 5, 7): Salpavias.

'Ηρακλείας μετεπέμπετο, ποιησάμενος ἐπιγαμίαν 7 πρός τοὺς 'Ηρακλεώτας' ἔγημε γὰρ 'Αμηστριν τὴν 'Οξυάρτου μὲν θυγατέρα, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδῆν, Κρατεροῦ δὲ γυναίκα γενομένην ὑπ' 'Αλεξάνδρου δοθεῖσαν, τότε δυναστεύουσαν τῆς πόλεως.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐν τούτοις ἡν.

110. Κατά δέ την Ελλάδα Δημήτριος διατρίβων έν ταις 'Αθήναις εσπευδε μυηθήναι και παραλαβείν' την έν Ελουσίνε τελετήν. απεχούσης δε χρόνον ίκανον της κατά νόμους ημέρας, καθ' ήν εἰώθεισαν 'Αθηναίοι συντελείν την τελετήν, έπεισε τον δήμον · δια τας εθεργεσίας κινήσαι το πάτριον έθος. παραδούς ούν αύτον ανοπλον τοίς ιερεύσι και πρό της ώρισμένης ημέρας μυηθείς ανέζευξεν έκ των 'Αθη-2 νών, και το μέν πρώτον είς Χαλκίδα της Ευβοίας ήθροισε τον στόλον και την πεζην δύναμιν μετά δέ ταθτα πυθόμενος τούς περί Κάσανδρον προκατειληφθαι τας παρόδους, πεζή μεν απέγνω την είς Θετταλίαν ποιείσθαι πορείαν, παραπλεύσας δέ μετά της δυνάμεως είς τον εν Λαρίση λιμένα και την δύναμιν εκβιβάσας την μεν πόλιν εξ εφόδου παρέλαβε. την δ' άκραν εκπολιορκήσας τους μεν φρουρούς δήσας παρέδωκεν είς φυλακήν, τοις δε Λαρισαίοις 3 την αυτονομίαν αποκατέστησεν. μετά δέ ταθτα 'Αντρώνας' μεν καὶ Πτελεόν προσηγάγετο, Δίον δέ

* παραλαβείν Fischer (in apparatus) : καταλαβείν.

* "Αντρώνας Unger, Fischer, "Αντρώνας Madvig, "Αντρώνα Wesseling : Πρώνας.

After Craterus deserted Amestris (or Amastris) in order to marry Phila (Book 18, 18, 7), she married Dionysius, the 434

BOOK XX, 109, 0-110, 3

supplies from Heraclea, having made a marriage 102 m.c. alliance with the Heracleotes; for he had married Amestris, the daughter of Oxyartes and niece of King Darius. She had been wife of Craterus, given him by Alexander, and at the time in question was ruler of the city.¹

Such was the situation in Asia.

110. In Greece Demetrius, who was tarrying in Athens, was eager to be initiated and to participate in the mysteries at Eleusis." Since it was a considerable time before the legally established day on which the Athenians were accustomed to celebrate the mysteries, he persuaded the people because of his benefactions to change the custom of their fathers. And so, giving himself over unarmed to the priests, he was initiated before the regular day and departed from Athens. And first he gathered together his fleet and his land army in Chalcis of Enboca; then, learning that Cassander had already occupied the passes in advance, he gave up the attempt to advance into Thessaly by land, but sailed along the coast with the army into the port of Larisa. Disembarking the army, he captured the city at once; and taking the aeropolis, he imprisoned the garrison and put them under guard, but he restored their autonomy to the people of Larisa. Thereafter he won over Antrones and Ptelcum, and when Cassander would have trans-

ruler of Heraclea. On his death she continued to rule that city for their minor children until her marriage with Lysimachus (Strabo, 13, 3, 10). Lysimuchus in his turn soon deserted her to marry Arsinoë.

2 Cp. Plutarch, Demetries, 28.

² This is Larisa Cremaste in Phthiotis.

4 Antron (or Antrones) and Pieleum are also in Phthiotis, a little north-east of Larisa.

καὶ 'Ορχομενον' μετοικίζουτος είς Θήβας Κασάνδρου διεκώλυσε μετοικισθήναι τὰς πόλεις. Κάσανδρος δέ θεωρών τὰ πράγματα το Δημητρίο κατά νούν γωρούντα Φεράς μεν και Θήβας άδροτέραις φρουραίς παρεφύλαττε, την δε δύναμιν πασαν είς ένα τόπον άθροίσας αντεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς 4 περί του Δημήτριου. είχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζούς μέν είς δισμυρίους ευνακισχιλίους, ίππεῖς δε δισχιλίους. τω δε Δημητρίω συνηκολούθουν ίππεις μεν χίλιοι και πεντακόσιοι, πεζοί δε Μακεδόνες οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων, μισθοφόροι δ' είς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, εκ δε των κατά την Έλλάδα πόλεων δισμύριοι και πεντακισχίλιοι, ψιλικά δὲ τάγματα καὶ πειρατών παντοδαπών τών συντρεχόντων έπὶ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς άρπαγὰς ούκ ελάττους των δκτακισχιλίων, ωστ' είναι τούς απαντας πεζούς περί τούς πεντακισμυρίους έξακισ-5 γιλίους. αντικαθημένων δε των στρατοπέδων άλλήλοις επί πολλάς ήμερας εκτάξεις μεν εγίνοντο παρ' αμφοτέροις, είς μάχην δε ουδέτερος συγκατέβαινε, καραδοκών την έπί της 'Λοίας εσομένην 8 των όλων κρίσιν. Δημήτριος δέ, των Φεραίων επικαλεσαμένων αὐτόν, παρεισπεσών είς την πόλιν μετά μέρους της δυνάμεως την μεν ακραν εκπολιορκήσας ύπυσπόνδους άφηκε τους παρά Κασάνδρου στρατιώτας, τοις δε Φεραίοις την ελευθερίαν αποκατέστησεν.

111. Εν τούτοις δ' άντων τῶν περὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἡκον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' `Αντιγόνου, διασαφοῦντες τὰς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολὰς

¹ Fischer in apparatus suggests NηΜαν and 'Ορμένων from Strabo, 9. 5. 15.

ported the people of Dium and Orchomenus into 202 p.c. Thebes, he prevented the transplanting of the cities. But when Cassander saw that Demetrius' undertakings were prospering, he first protected Pherae and Thehes with stibuger garrisons; and then, after collecting his whole army into one place, he encamped over against Demetrius. He had in all twenty-nine thousand foot-soldiers and two thousand horsemen. Demetrius was followed by fifteen hundred horsemen. not less than eight thousand Macedonian footsoldiers, mercenaries to the number of fifteen thansand, twenty-five thousand from the cities throughout Greece, and at least eight thousand of the light armed troops and of the freebooters of all sorts who had gathered for the fighting and the plandering; so that there were in all about fifty-six thousand footsoldiers. For many days the camps were pitched opposite each other, and the battle lines were drawn up on both sides, but neither came forward into battle since each was awaiting the decision of the whole matter that would take place in Asia. Demetrius, however, when the people of Pherae called upon him, entering their city with part of his army and taking the citadel, dismissed the soldiers of Cassander on terms and restored their liberty to the people of Pherae.

111. While affairs in Thessaly were in this state, there came to Demetrius the messengers sent by Antigonus, accurately detailing the orders of his

¹ Dium and Orchomenus in this region are unknown: but since the Thebes in question must be Thebae Phthiotides (op. Pherae and Thebes below), Demetrius can hurdly have returned to Bocotia.

^{*} mademous Dindorf: modemous.

καὶ παρακελευόμενοι τὴν ταχίστην διαβιβάζειν τὰς 2 δυνάμεις είς την 'Ασίαν. διόπερ αναγκαΐον ηγησάμενος υπάρχειν ο βασιλεύς το πείθεσθαι τω πατρί, πρός μέν Κάσανδρον διαλύσεις εποιήσατο, συνθέμενος είναι κυρίας τὰς συνθήκας, ἐὰν ὧσιν εὐάρεστοι τῶ πατρί, ἀκριβῶς μέν είδως οὐ προσδεξόμενον αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ κεκρικέναι πάντως διὰ τῶν ὅπλων έπιθείναι τέλος τῷ συμβάντι πολέμω, βουλόμενος δέ την έκ της Ελλάδος ἀποχώρησιν εὐσχήμονα ποιήσασθαι και μή φυγή παραπλησίαν ενέγραπτο γάρ εν ταις συνθήκαις πρός τοις άλλοις και τό τάς Ελληνίδας πόλεις ελευθέρας ύπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς κατά την Ελλάδα μόνον, άλλα και τας κατά την 'Ασίαν. 3 μετά δέ ταυθ' ό Δημήτριος παρασκευασάμενος πόρια πρός την παρακομιδήν τῶν το στρατιωτῶν καὶ της ἀποσκευης ἀνήχθη παντί τῷ στύλω καὶ κομισθείς δια νήσων κατέπλευσεν είς "Εφεσον. έκβιβάσας δε την δύναμιν και στρατοπεδεύσας πλησίον των τειχών ήναγκασε την πόλιν είς την προϋπάρχουσαν ἀποκαταστήναι τάξιν και την μέν ύπο Πρεπελάου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου στρατηγοῦ παρεισαγθείσαν φρουράν άφηκεν υπόσπουδου, ίδίαν δέ φυλακήν είς την άκραν καταστήσας παρηλθεν είς Ελλήσποντον. και Λαμψακηνούς μεν και Παριανούς, έτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεταβεβλημένων πόλεών τινας άνεκτήσατο, έπὶ δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου παραγενόμενος προς τῷ Χαλκηδονίων ἱερῶ στρατοπεδείαν περιεβάλετο καὶ τους φυλάξοντας του τόπου απέλιπε στρατιώτας πεζούς μέν τρισχιλίους, ναιις δε μακράς τριάκοντα την δ' άλλην

father and bidding him take his army across into Asia me no. as swiftly as possible. Since he regarded obedience to his father's orders as obligatory, the king came to terms with Cassander, making the condition that the agreements should be valid only if they were acceptable to his father; for although he very well knew that his father would not accept them since he had definitely made up his mind to bring to an end by force of arms the war which had set in, yet Demetrius wished to make his withdrawal from Greece appear respectable and not like a flight. Indeed, it was written among other conditions in the agreement that the Greek cities were to be free, not only those of Greece but also those of Asia. Then Demetrius, after preparing ships for the transportation of the soldiers and the equipment, set sail with his whole fleet and, going through the islands, put in at Pphesus. Disembarking his army and camping near the walls, he forced the city to return to its former status; then he dismissed on terms the garrison that had been introduced by Prepelaus, the general of Lysimachus, and after stationing his own garrison on the acropolis, he went on to the Hellespont. He also recovered Lampsacus and Parium, likewise some of the other cities that had changed sides; and when he arrived at the entrance of the Pontus, he constructed a camp beside the shrine of the Chalcedonians 1 and left to guard the region three thousand foot-soldiers and thirty warships. Then he sent the rest of the

¹ The shrine of the Chalcedonians may be identical with the place on the shore of the Pontus called Hieron, Book 19, 79, 6.

Χαλκηδονίων FIscher (in apparatus; ep. Books 18, 72, 4;
 60, 3); Καλχηδονίων RX, Καρχηδονίων F.

δύναμιν διελόμενος κατά πόλεις διέδωκεν εἰς

χειμασίαν.

Περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους καὶ Μιθριδάτης, ὑπήκοος ῶν ᾿Αντιγόνω καὶ δόξας ἀφίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Κάσανδρον, ἀνηρέθη περὶ Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ἄρξας αὐτῆς καὶ Μυρλείας ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος Μιθριδάτης πολλοὺς προσεκτήσατο, τῆς δὲ Καππαδοκίας

καὶ Παφλαγονίας ήρξεν έτη τριάκοντα έξ.

112. Έν δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις Κάσανδρος μετά την απαλλαγήν την Δημητρίου τας μέν κατά την Θετταλίαν πόλεις ανεκτήσατο, Πλείσταρχον δέ μετά δυνάμεως εξέπεμψεν είς την 'Λσίαν βοηθήσοντα τοις περί Λυσίμαχον. οί δέ συναποσταλέντες ήσαν πεζοί μέν μύριοι διαχίλιοι, ίππεις δέ 2 πεντακόσιοι. ό δε Πλείσταρχος επειδή παραγενόμενος επί το στόμα τοῦ ΙΙόντου κατέλαβε τούς τόπους προκατεχομένους ύπο των πολεμίων, άπογνούς την διάβασιν παρηλθεν είς 'Οδησσόν, ή κείται μεταξύ μεν της τε 'Απολλωνίας και Καλλαντίας." κατ' αντικού δέ της έν τω πέραν Πρακλείας. 3 έγούσης τι μέρος της Λυσιμάγου δυνάμεως. ούκ έγων δ' ίκανα πόρια πρός την των στρατιωτών διάβασιν τριχή διεμέρισε την δύναμιν. την μέν ούν πρώτην αποστολήν συνέβη διασωθήναι πρός την Ηράκλειαν, την δε δευτέραν ύπο των περί το στόμα τοῦ Πόντου φυλακίδων νεών άλώναι. κατά την

Muphelas Post: 'Applyns RX, Maplyns F. Kalharrias Palmer: Palarias.

army into winter quarters, dividing it among the 202 Re-

At about this time Mithridates, who was subject to Antigonus but appeared to be shifting his allegiance to Cassander, was stain at Cius in Mysia after having ruled that city and Myrlea for thirty-five years; and Mithridates, inheriting the kingdom, added many new subjects and was king of Cappadocia and

Paphlagonia for thirty-six years.

112. In these same days Cassander, after the departure of Demetrius, took possession of the cities of Thessaly and sent Pleistarchus with an army into Asia to aid Lysimachus. Those sent with him were twelve thousand foot-soldiers and five hundred horsemen. But when Pleistarchus came to the entrance of the Pontus, he found that the region had already been taken over by the enemy and, abandoning the crossing, he turned aside to Odessus, which lies between Apollonia and Callantia, directly opposite to Heraelea on the opposite shore, where a part of the army of Lysimachus was quartered. Since he did not have ships enough for transporting his soldiers, he divided his army into three contingents. Now the first force sent out came safe to Heraelea, but the second was captured by the guard-ships at the cutrance to the Pontus. When Pleistarchus himself

² Myrlea, later called Apamea, was an important port

mear Clus; but see critical note.

Mithridates II of Clus in Bithynia, son of Ariobarzanes, ep. Book 16, 90, 2.

Mithridates III of Cius and I of Pontus, if identical with the Mithridates of Book 19, 40, 2, and Plutareli, Demetrius, 4, is son of an Arioburzanes who is probably the brother of Mithridates II. In our passage, then, the nephew succeeds his nucle.

τρίτην δε αὐτοῦ συνδιαβαίνοντος τοῦ Πλειστάρχου χειμων ἐπεγενήθη τηλικοῦτος ὥστε τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν 4 σκαφῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων διαφθαρῆναι καὶ γὰρ ή κομίζουσα ναῦς ἐξήρης τὸν στρατηγὸν συνεκλύσθη καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῆ πλεόντων οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ πεντακοσίων τρεῖς πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα μόνου διεσώθησαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἢν καὶ ὁ Πλείσταρχος, ναυαγίου μὲν ἐπειλημμένος, εἰς δὲ τὴν γῆν ἡμιθαιὴς ἐκβεβρασμένος. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Πράκλειαν καὶ προσαναλαβών ἐκ τῆς ἀτυχίας τὸ σῶμα πρὸς Λυσίμαχον εἰς τὴν χειμασίαν ἀνέζευξε,

αποβεβληκώς το πλείου της δυνάμεως.

113. Έν δε ταις αὐταις ημέραις και Πτολεμαίος ό βασιλεύς άναζεύξας έξ Λίγύπτου μετά δυνάμεως άξιολόγου τὰς μὲν ἐν τῆ Κοίλη Συρία πόλεις ἀπάσιις ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο: Σιδώνα δὲ πολιορκούντος αὐτοῦ τινες παρήσαν ἀπαγγέλλοντες ψευδώς ὅτι παρατάξεως γενομένης τοις βασιλεύσιν οι μέν περί Λυσίμαγον και Σέλευκον ήττηθέντες αποκεχωρήκασιν είς την 'Πράκλειαν, 'Αντίγονος δε νενικηκώς 3 προσάγει μετά δυνάμεως επί Συρίας. παραλογισθείς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ πεισθείς ἀληθη τὴν προσαγγελίαν είναι, πρός μέν τους Σιδωνίους είς τέτταρας μήνας άνοχάς εποιήσατο, τὰς δὲ χειρωθείσης πόλεις φρουραίς ασφαλισάμενος επανήλθε 3 μετά της δυνάμεως είς Λίγυπτον. άμα δε τούτοις πραττομένοις ένιοι των παρά Λυσιμάχω στρατιωτων αὐτομολήσαντες ήλθον έκ της χειμασίας παρ' 'Αντίγονον, Αὐταριάται μεν δισχίλιοι, Λύκιοι δε καὶ Παμφύλιοι περί όκτακοσίους. τούτοις μέν ούν 'Αντίγονος φιλανθρώπως προσενεχθείς τούς τε μι-

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set sail with the third group, so great a tempest rose 2011 c, that most of the vessels and the men on them were lost; and indeed the large warship? that carried the general sank, and of the not less than five hundred men who sailed in he?, only thirty-three were saved. Among these was Pleistarchus who, holding to a piece of wreckage, was east ashore half dead. He was carried to Heraclea and after recovering from the misfortune went to Lysimachus at winter quarters,

having lost the larger part of his army.

113. During these same days King Ptolemy, setting out from Egypt with an army of considerable size, subjugated all the cities of Cocle-Syria; but while he was besieging Sidon certain men came to him with the false report that a battle had taken place between the kings in which Lysimachus and Seleucus had been defeated, that they had withdrawn to Heraelea, and that Antigonus, after winning the victory, was advancing with an army against Syria. Consequently Ptolemy, deceived by them and believing that their report was true, made a fourmonth's tence with the Sidonians, secured with garrisons the cities that he had captured, and went back to Egypt with his army. At the same time as this was taking place, some of the soldiers of Lysimachus, having left their winter quarters as deserters, went over to Antigonus, namely two thousand Autariatae and about eight hundred Lycians and Pamphylians. Now Antigonus, receiving these men

¹ The hexeren was probably a ship with a single row of oars on each side, each oar manned by six men, rather than a ship with six superimposed banks of oacs on each side. Cp. Tarn, Hetlenistic and Naval Developments, 192-141.

^{*} holor added by Rhodoman.

σθούς έδωκεν, ους έφασαν όφείλεσθαι παρά Λυσιμάχου, καὶ δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε. καθ' δν δὴ χρόνον
ἢλθε καὶ Σέλευκος ἐκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν διαβεβηκὼς εἰς Καππαδοκίαν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως
καὶ κατασκευάσας στεγνὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρεχείμαζεν. εἰχε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς δισμυρίους,
ἰππεῖς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἰπποτοζόταις περὶ μυρίους
δισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς
τετρακοσίοις, ἄρματα δὲ δρεπανηψόρα πλείω τῶν
ἐκατόν.

5 Αξ μέν οὖν τῶν βασιλέων δυνάμεις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἠθροίζοντο, κεκρικότων ἀπάντων κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν θερίαν διὰ τῶν ἄπλων κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἡμεῖς δέ, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῷ προεθέμεθα, τὸν γενόμενον τοῦτοις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον περὶ τῶν ἄλων πράξεων ἀρχὴν ποιησόμεθα

της επομένης βίβλου.

1 παρεχείμαζεν Dindorf: παραχειμάζειν.

BOOK XX, 113, 3-5

in kindly fashion, not only gave them the pay which were they said was due them from Lysimachus but also honoured them with gifts. At this time Seleucus also arrived, having crossed over from the upper satrapies into Cappadocia with a large army, and after making buts for the soldiers he went into winter quarters near by. He had foot-soldiers to the number of about twenty thousand, about twelve thousand horsemen including his mounted archers, four hundred and eighty elephants, and more than a hundred scythed charints.

In this way, then, the forces of the kings were being gathered together, since they all had determined to decide the war by force of arms during the coming summer. But, as we proposed in the beginning, we shall make the war that these kings waged against each other for supreme rule the beginning of the following book.



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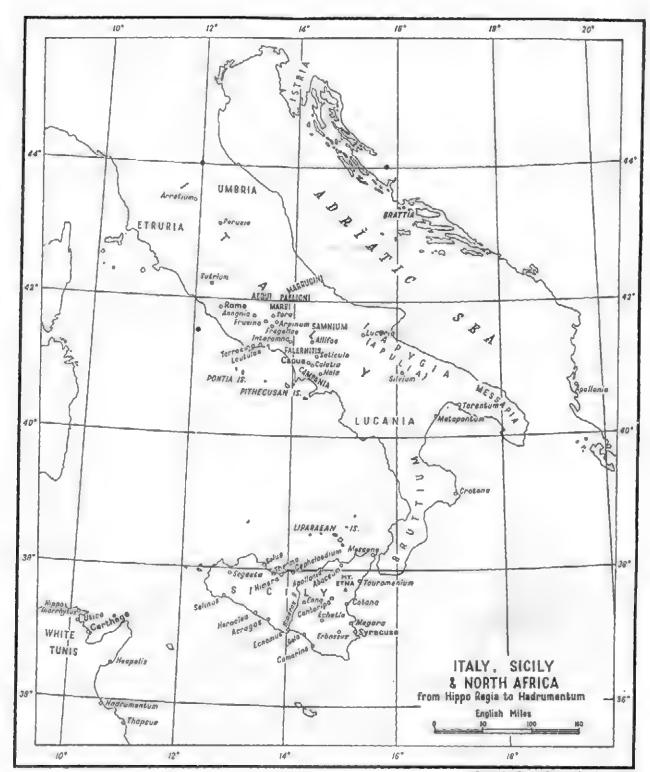
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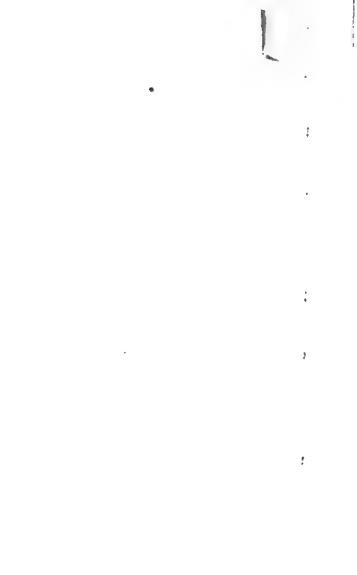
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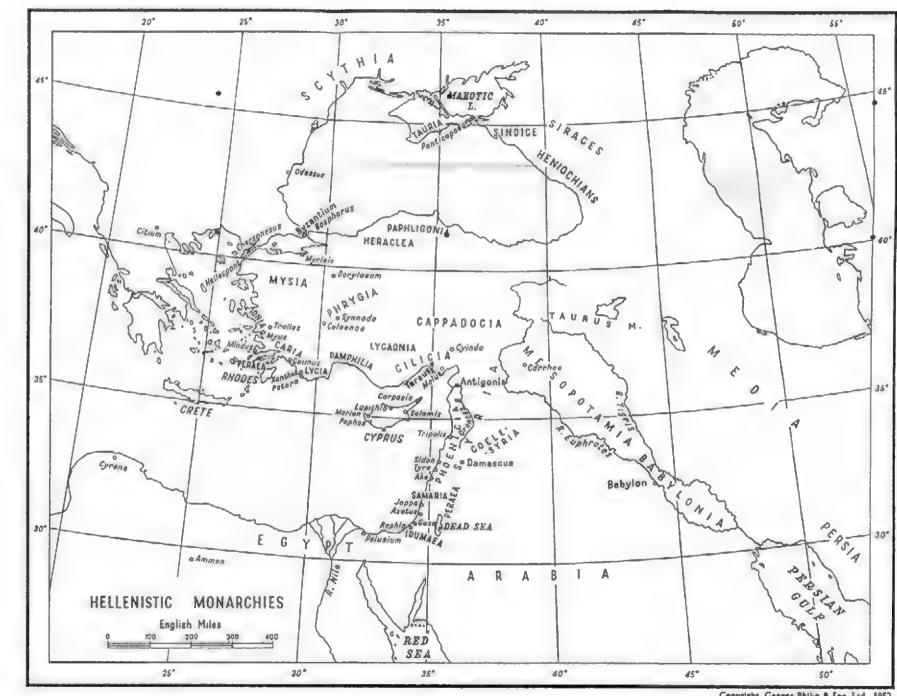
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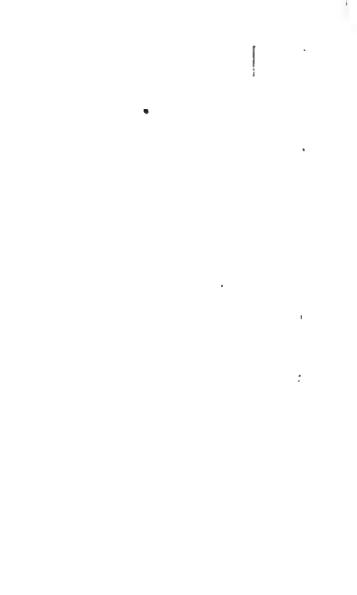
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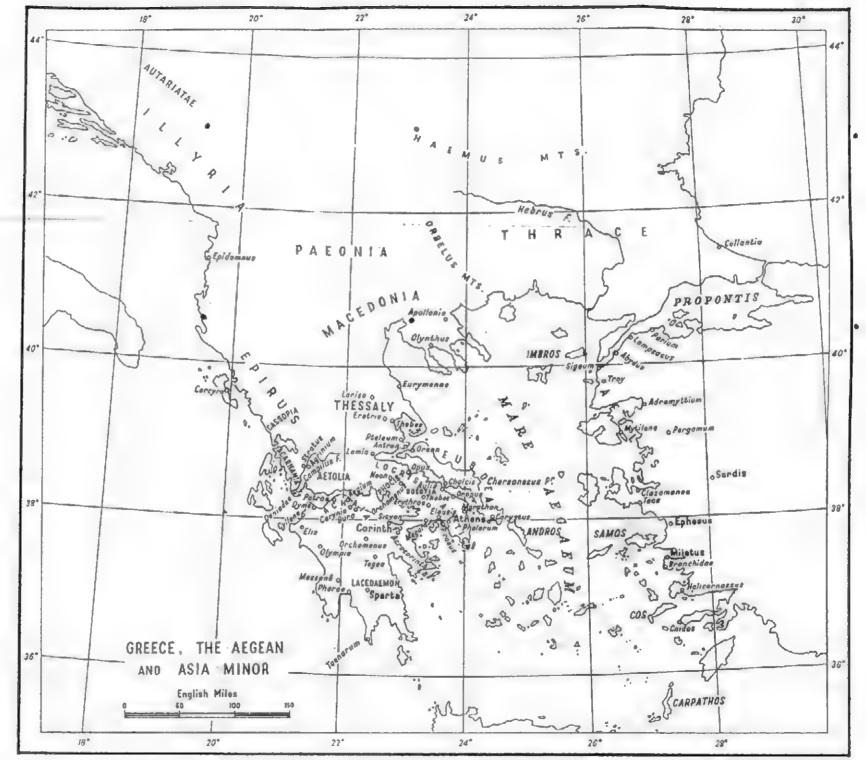
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LATIN AUTHORS

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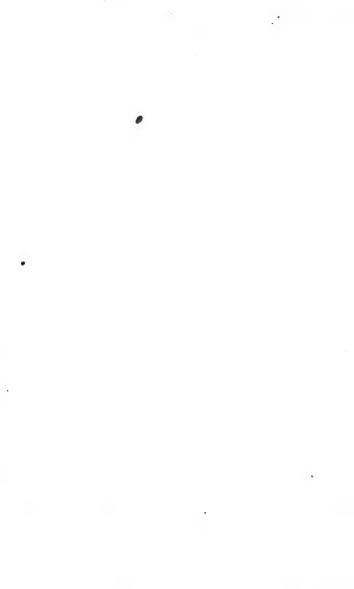
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